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SHAKESPEARE'S SONNET STORY

1592-1598

"O, let my books be then the eloquence
And dumb presagers of my speaking breast ;
Who plead for love, and look for recompense,
More than that tongue that more hath more express'd.
O, learn to read what silent love hath writ :
To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit."

BOOK VI. Sonnet xvi.

"And of this book this learning mayst thou taste."

BOOK VI. Sonnet xviii.

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SHAKESPEARE'S

SONNET STORY

1592-1598

Restoring the Sonnets written to the Earl of Southampton
to their original *books* and correlating them with
personal phases of the Plays of the Sonnet
period ; with documentary evidence
identifying Mistress Davenant
as the Dark Lady

BY

ARTHUR ACHESON

AUTHOR OF "SHAKESPEARE AND THE RIVAL POET"
"MISTRESS DAVENANT, THE DARK LADY OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS"
"SHAKESPEARE'S LOST YEARS IN LONDON"

WITH AN APPENDIX

INCLUDING A MONOGRAPH ON

THE CROSSE INN AND THE TAVERN OF OXFORD

BY

E. THURLOW LEEDS, F.S.A.

180140

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LONDON

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1922

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TO
GEORG BRANDES
THE MOST
SYMPATHETIC AND STIMULATING
OF
SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICS
THIS BOOK
IS
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED



PREFACE

THERE are at present, and have been for some years past, two very divergent theories regarding the manner in which Shakespearean biography should be undertaken. Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, who confined his efforts nearly altogether—especially during the last two decades of his life—to antiquarian research, and who, while attaining an authoritative standing in this capacity, has never been regarded as a critical authority by scholars, was the original exponent of one of these theories: which insists that it is hopeless to seek biographical light upon Shakespeare from his own works. In the preface to his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, without advancing any reason other than his opinion, he writes: “In the absence of some very important and unexpected discovery, the general desire to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the personal history of Shakespeare cannot be wholly gratified. Something, however, may be accomplished in that direction by a diligent and critical study of the materials now accessible, *especially if determined care be taken to avoid the temptation of endeavouring to illustrate that history by his writings, or to decipher his character or sensibilities through their media . . . for it must surely be admitted that the exchange of the individuality of the man for that of the author is the very essence of dramatic genius, and, if that is so, the higher the genius the more complete will be the severance from the personality.*”

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This singular affirmation appears now by repetition and the process of time to have gained an academic acceptance out of all proportion to the writer's critical authority, or its own intrinsic credibility, in view of the evidence that has been brought to bear against it and of the fact that Halliwell-Phillipps traverses his own theory in his *Outlines* when he finds two plays that coincide with biographical tradition. "*The Second Part of Henry IV.* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," he writes, "are, so far as we know, the only dramas of Shakespeare's that are in any way connected with his personal history. They include scenes that could not have been written exactly in their present form if the great dramatist had not entertained an acute grudge against Sir Thomas Lucy." Does not the explanation of this divergence between theory and practice lie in the phrase "so far as we know"?

Is it likely that in an age when the stage was one of the principal mediums for the expression of current opinion; when disabilities and penalties were constantly being imposed upon the actors for the infringement of laws and Court orders against the representation of political affairs; when Shakespeare himself refers to the actors as "the abstract and brief chronicles of the time," and says further that "The purpose of playing . . . is . . . to show . . . the very age and body of the time his form and pressure"; that the most popular stage poet of the time, writing for the most popular company, should not have introduced recognisable personal and topical features into more than the two plays mentioned? Is it not more likely that this ardent antiquarian's theory owes its birth to our lack of other co-ordinate biographical data at the time he wrote, coupled with his strong desire to preserve his limited but

literal facts unclouded by mere surmise or conjecture, than to any fundamental truth in the dicta set forth?

At the present time the most unhesitating supporter of Halliwell-Phillipps' theory is naturally Sir Sidney Lee, whose *Life of William Shakespeare* is based upon the *Outlines*. Sir Sidney, like Halliwell-Phillipps, disallows the possibility of finding self-revelation in the plays or sonnets, and confines the biographical portions of his work largely to the literal details used by Halliwell-Phillipps; specifically eschewing what he refers to as "esthetic criticism."

Regarding the claims for the biographical value of the sonnets Sir Sidney Lee writes in his preface: "In my treatment of the sonnets I have pursued what I believe to be an original line of investigation. The strictly autobiographical interpretation that critics have of late placed on these poems compelled me, as Shakespeare's biographer, to submit them to a very narrow scrutiny. *My conclusion is adverse to the claim of the sonnets to rank as autobiographical documents*, but I have felt bound, out of respect to writers from whose views I dissent, to give in detail the evidence on which I base my judgment. Matthew Arnold sagaciously laid down the maxim that 'the criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being for intellectual and artistic¹ purposes one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result.' It is criticism inspired by this liberalising principle that is especially applicable to the vast sonnet-literature which was produced by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. It is criticism of the type Arnold recommended that can alone lead to any accurate and

¹ Arnold wrote "spiritual," but the change of epithet is needed to render the dictum thoroughly pertinent to the topic under consideration.

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profitable conclusion respecting the intention of the vast sonnet-literature of the Elizabethan era. In accordance with Arnold's suggestion, I have studied Shakespeare's sonnets comparatively with those in vogue in England, France and Italy at the time he wrote. I have endeavoured to learn the view that was taken of such literary endeavours by contemporary critics and readers throughout Europe. My researches have covered a very small portion of the wide field. But I have gone far enough, I think, to justify the conviction *that Shakespeare's collection of sonnets has no reasonable title to be regarded as a personal or autobiographical narrative.*"

To one not familiar with Arnold this might read as though that great critic had advocated a study of contemporary European sonnet-literature as a means to the solution of the mystery of Shakespeare's sonnets. This cannot be Sir Sidney Lee's meaning, as his initial avowal of originality makes clear.

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The opposing and more eclectic theory, which has come down from the days of Malone, is at present most ably supported by Dr. Georg Brandes of Copenhagen in his *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*, which was published in 1898, shortly after the publication of Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*. Here Dr. Brandes, who for years has been recognised as the foremost living literary critic, takes issue with the literalists and convincingly advocates, and illustrates for biographical purposes, a self-revelatory interpretation of the plays and the personal and biographical value of the sonnets. Regarding the plays Dr. Brandes writes: "It is three hundred years

since his genius attained its full development, yet Europe is still busied with him as though with a contemporary. His dramas are acted and read wherever civilisation extends. Perhaps, however, he exercises the strongest fascination upon the reader whose natural bent of mind leads him to delight in searching out the human spirit concealed and revealed in a great artist's work. 'I will not let you go until you have confessed to me the secret of your being'—these are the words that rise to the lips of such a reader of Shakespeare. Ranging the plays in their probable order of production, and reviewing the poet's life-work as a whole, he feels constrained to form for himself some image of the spiritual experience of which it is the expression." Further on, regarding the sonnets, he writes: "No intelligent critic would think of looking to lyrical poems as to biographical sources, in the rough meaning of the term. The poetical is rarely identical with the personal *ego*. But on the other hand it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that books (I mean great, inspired books, such as are read for hundreds of years) are never engendered by other books, but by life. Nobody, who has a drop of artist's blood in his veins, can imagine that a poet of the rank of Shakespeare can have written sonnets by the score only as exercises or metrical experiments, without any bearing on his life, its passions and its crises. The formula for good epic poetry is surely this: that it must always be founded on real life, even if rarely or never an exact copy of it. Lyrical poetry, in which the poet speaks in his own name, and especially of himself, must necessarily, if first rate, be rooted in what the poet has felt so strongly that it made him break into song.

"The learned critics of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* regard

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them merely as metrical *tours de force*, penned in cold blood on subjects prescribed by fashion and convention. They look upon fancy as upon a spider, which spins chimera in all sorts of typical and artificial figures out of itself. It seems more natural to look upon it as a plant, extracting nourishment from the only soil in which it could thrive, namely, the observations and experiences of the poet."

Here, it will be noticed, are two very divergent points of view, practically irreconcilable, and as we progress in our knowledge of Shakespeare—if we do—it appears that one must necessarily give place to the other.

Sir Leslie Stephen, in an article in *The National Review*, published some years after the publication of Dr. Brandes' and Sir Sidney Lee's books, while championing neither side, critically considers the opposing views and reaches the conclusion that only by a spiritual interpretation, supported, as he anticipates, by further co-ordinate evidence, may we hope to realise a human conception of Shakespeare. I quote a few passages from Sir Leslie's article. "I spent some hours of a recent vacation in reading a few Shakespeare books, including Mr. Lee's already standard *Life* and Professor Brandes' interesting *Critical Study*. The contrast between the two raised the old question. Mr. Lee, like many critics of the highest authority, maintains that we can know nothing of the man. He shows that we know more than the average reader supposes of the external history of the Stratford townsman. But then he maintains the self-denying proposition that such knowledge teaches us nothing about the author of *Hamlet*. Professor Brandes, on the contrary, tries to show how a certain spiritual history indicated by the works may be more or less distinctly correlated with certain passages in the personal history.

. . . Now I confess that to me one main interest in reading is always the communion with the author. *Paradise Lost* gives me the sense of intercourse with Milton, and the *Waverley Novels* bring me a greeting from Scott. Every man, I fancy, is unconsciously his own Boswell, and, however 'objective' or dramatic he professes to be, really betrays his own secrets. Browning is one of the authorities against me. If Shakespeare, he says, really unlocked his heart in the sonnets, why 'the less Shakespeare he.' Browning declines for his part to follow the example, and fancies that he has preserved his privacy. Yet we must, I think, agree with a critic who emphatically declares that a main characteristic of Browning's own poetry is that it brings us into contact with the real 'self of the author.' Self-revelation is not the less clear because involuntary or quite incidental to the main purpose of a book. I may read Gibbon simply to learn facts ; but I enjoy his literary merits because I recognize my friend of the autobiography who 'sighed as a lover and obeyed as a son.' I may study Darwin's *Origin of Species* to clear my views upon natural selection ; but as a book it interests me even through the defects of style by the occult personal charm of the candid, sagacious, patient seeker for truth. In pure literature the case is, of course, plainer, and I will not count up instances because, in truth, I can hardly think of a clear exception. Whenever we know a man adequately we perceive that, though different aspects of his character may be made prominent in his life and his works, the same qualities are revealed in both, and we cannot describe the literary without indicating the personal charm.

"Is Shakespeare the sole exception ? "

If the personal records we possess of Milton, Browning,

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Gibbon and Darwin were as scanty as those we possess of Shakespeare, and their times were as remote from ours, would it not be equally if indeed not more difficult to realise the personal equations in their literary productions? Does it not then appear that Shakespeare is no exception to the rule, but seems so only because of our ignorance of the personal facts of his career?

Sir Leslie Stephen writes further: (Shakespeare's) "life, so far from explaining the genius, makes it, as some people have thought, a puzzle. Is there any real incompatibility between Shakespeare's conduct and the theory of life implied by his writings?" This Sir Leslie answers in the negative by what is practically a synopsis of Dr. Brandes' general deductions, and adds: "I leave a full answer to the accomplished critic whom I desiderate but do not try to anticipate."

The literalist simulacrum presented to embody the Orphean spirit and grace of Shakespeare satisfies no one, not even its exponents; who, at times, admit and regret its inadequacy. The conception evolved by Dr. Brandes through spiritual analysis, while much more human and interesting, is satisfactory only to those who see with the eyes of the spirit. This conception is regarded by the majority, however, as an exercise of the imagination, for literal-minded people are always and everywhere in a majority.

When Sir Sidney Lee's *Life* and Dr. Brandes' *Critical Study* were published in 1898, I had then been an interested student of Shakespeare, especially of the Sonnets and sonnet theories, for over ten years; having been led thereto at first by the lyric beauty of the Sonnets and knowing little at that time about the theories concerning them. I soon became aware, however, that there was a

distinctly personal note in them different from any other sonnets I had read. I then made an exhaustive study of existing sonnet-literature, seeking for more light. Malone's suggestions for the division of the sonnets into two series, and that the first series was addressed to a man and the latter to a woman, appeared self-evident, as did Dr. Drake's suggestion of Southampton as the patron ; but no one of the many books on the sonnets published up to that time (1898) proved convincing to me, though Gerald Massey's *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets* was by far the most interesting ; not for his views on the sonnets, but for his fine enthusiasm and the interesting historical background he presents. He, however, was the first to make it apparent to me that Southampton and Shakespeare were intimate for a prolonged period ; but the manner in which he links Southampton and his friends with the sonnets has no foundation of truth and is palpably forced.

Mr. Thomas Tyler's *Shakespeare's Sonnets* was published in 1889. I immediately secured a copy, and for about a year afterwards was almost a convert to his theory, but a part of his theory which revealed Shakespeare as an ingrate and a time-server I found it impossible to believe. In attempting to correct this feature of his story I discovered that his whole theory was wrong, and that while he was the only Shakespearean who, at that date, had publicly accepted Professor Minto's suggestion of George Chapman as the Rival Poet, that he had not attempted to develop this suggestion further than the point at which Minto had left it ; had he done so he would have had to abandon his theory regarding Pembroke and Mary Fitton, as he would probably have found, as I did later, that the heat of rivalry between Shakespeare and Chapman revealed in the sonnets,

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and, as I have shown, reflected also in Chapman's dedication of *The Shadow of Night* in 1594 ; again in his dedications of his poems published in 1595, and also in *Love's Labour's Lost*, all antedated the Earl of Pembroke's coming to Court in 1598. This discovery for a time set me adrift again, but in the new dates concerning the rivalry that I now had to guide me, and with the alternative of Southampton as the patron to fall back upon, I soon found evidence that fully convinced me of his identity. At this time I had no idea of publishing, and sought to elucidate the matter merely for my own satisfaction, but as time went by and one clue led to another, new channels opened and new light appeared, so that when in 1903 I published *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, before this book was through the press I already had the sonnets restored to their sequences as they are now presented in this volume, and had accumulated also much new data illustrating the personal and political phases of the plays of the sonnet period.

In the previous year or two I had read Dr. Brandes' recently published *Critical Study* and Sir Sidney Lee's *Life*. It is needless to say, in view of the nature of my previous years of research, which of these new books proved the more inspiring. As an Englishman I was dispirited at the gulf fixed between the spiritual outlook of English and Continental Shakespearean scholarship. Here, it seemed to me, was proclaimed on one hand "the Everlasting Yea," and on the other "the Everlasting Nay" of research, or, in the latter case, possibly now "the Centre of Indifference." To reconcile or at least accommodate these divergences in view-point appeared to me not impossible, for though Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee deny an autobiographical interpretation for the

sonnets, Sir Sidney tacitly edges on the question in admitting a personality for the patron and for the rival poet ; in fact, going to the length of admitting that there may possibly have been an original for the dark lady, though he believes the chances are so remote that there was just as likely to have been an original for the Queen of Egypt ; while Halliwell-Phillipps uses biographically the only personal phase in the plays (of which he was aware) that match facts, or rather traditions, in the life of the poet.

In the preface to my first publication I outlined a programme of further research, which, I believed, if successfully carried out, would establish a more extended and definite basis of personal fact regarding Shakespeare, that when co-ordinated with his works and the social, literary and political life of the period, might enable a future Brandes to produce a new biography still worthier of its great subject. Following is the outline of research announced at that time :

“ The research of text-students of the works of Shakespeare, undertaken with the object of unveiling the mystery which envelops the poet’s life and personality, has added little or nothing of actual proof to the bare outlines which hearsay, tradition, and the spare records of his time have given us. It has, however, resulted in evolving several plausible conjectures, which, if followed and carried to the point of proof, would lend some form and semblance of his personality to the outlines, and materially assist in visualising for us the actual man. In this class of conjectural knowledge I would place the following questions :

“ The question of the personal theory of the Sonnets with its attendant questions of order and chronology, and the identity of the three or four figures ; the ‘ Patron,’

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the ' Rival Poet,' the ' Dark Lady,' and the ' Mr. W. H.' of the dedication.

" I would also mention in this class the question of the chronology of the plays, for though we have fairly accurate data regarding a few of them, and fairly plausible inferences for nearly the whole of them, we cannot give an actual date for the first production of any of them.

" Lastly in this class, and attendant upon the sonnet theories, I would mention the question of the intention of the poem called *Willobie his Avis*, regarding Shakespeare and his connections. If any one or two of these things were actually proved, a new keynote to research would be struck, but at present these are all still matters of opinion and dispute."

At this date I had, as I thought, exhausted all clues leading from the identification of Chapman as the " rival poet " to the identification of the still hidden figures of the sonnets, and now forgetting Chapman, began research, seeking to find the author of *Willobie his Avis*, believing that his identification would settle the question of its satirical intention regarding Shakespeare. In this endeavour I made a careful study of Elizabethan verse, published and unpublished, looking for similarities of style, verbiage, idiom, metre, grammatical construction and ideas. As my leisure time was limited, this naturally took several years, during which I found a number of poems that, in my judgment, were by the same author, but as these were either anonymous or signed by what are palpably pen names, such as Peter Pick, I. Tomson, Ignoto, Anonymo, my quest did not seem much forwarded, and I had grown tired and almost abandoned my search, when, most unexpectedly, I found what I sought. The only

copy of Spenser I had then at hand had neither notes nor glossaries, and my previous interest in Spenser was not of a critical nature. I was interested in his verse for its quaintness and beauty, and had acquired a fair idea of his style. Reading Spenser casually one evening I came across a poem that I had undoubtedly seen before, but had never read in its entirety. I had not read for long before I recognised the hand and the mind of my elusive anonymity, who, I was convinced, was not Spenser. An examination of John Henry Todd's edition of Spenser showed me that he had determined Matthew Roydon's authorship for this poem—*Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*—in 1809.

Here again my clues linked up with Chapman, as it was the parallel between Shakespeare's "affable familiar ghost," and a phrase in Chapman's dedication of *The Shadow of Night* to Roydon in 1594 that led Minto to suggest Chapman as the "rival poet." I had never doubted the satirical nature of *Willobie his Avis*, nor been deceived by the alleged "Hadrian Dorrell" as to his editorship. A more minute examination of this poem, its prefaces and appendages, showed me that Avis was the hostess of a tavern, and indicated Oxford as the scene of the story's action. I then naturally linked up these findings with the gossip of John Aubrey and Anthony Wood, concerning John Davenant and his wife, but in my *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, published in 1913, said, "While I am inclined to repudiate the truth of Wood's and Aubrey's gossip as referring to conditions existent in 1605-6 and later, and believe this gossip to be merely a belated echo of the scandal of the earlier years, I have no doubt but that Avis, the dark lady and Mistress Davenant were one."

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During a recent visit to England, as will appear, I have been enabled to verify this deduction by documentary evidence, showing that Davenant was married twice and that the gossip of Aubrey and Wood actually did reflect the scandal of *Willobie his Avis*a concerning Shakespeare's relations with Davenant's first wife. The definite identification of the "dark lady," leading as it has from the finding of Roydon as the author of *Willobie his Avis*a, has put the identity of the other figures of the sonnet story for ever beyond conjecture.

Now a word regarding the *books* and chronological order to which I have restored the Sonnets, which restoration in turn is due entirely to literary analysis, but of a more palpable nature to general readers than that by which I identified Roydon and Chapman.

In the introductory chapter to the Sonnets I have explained in detail how I came to reform them into sequences. Some years ago, having explained my method to an interested Shakespearean student, and outlined to him their consecutive history—as I had found it connected with Shakespeare's and Southampton's affairs—without, however, showing him the order I had given them, he was curious to see what results he could attain by the same method. Working upon the first one hundred and twenty-six sonnets, and without further help from me, in a few weeks he had divided the sonnets into practically the same sequences that I had found, but, not having as intimate a knowledge of the sonnet story, failed to give the sequences the same consecutive order, and having considered the subject for a very much shorter time, his order within the sequences differed somewhat from mine, but not so materially as to interfere with a recognition of the theme of each sequence.

Other students may be interested in testing these sequences, both as to the chronological order of the *books* and the contextual order of the sonnets within the *books*. By following the lines I suggest, which are, to take two copies of the Sonnets in Thorpe's order,—say the cloth-bound Temple edition with one sonnet to a page,—cut out the leaves and spread the sonnets out from one to one hundred and twenty-six, and for the present forgetting my chronological order or Thorpe's sequential order, move the sonnets here and there, grouping them according to subject or theme, they will be found to divide naturally into seven groups : one urging a young man to marriage ; one indicating an absence during which the writer is travelling ; another showing that the person addressed is involved in relations with a woman known to the writer ; another describing a reunion after a period of separation three years after the poet's acquaintance with the patron begins ; another indicating that a rival poet seeks to supplant the writer in the patron's favour ; and two others, one distressed, plaintive and remorseful from beginning to end, and the other indicating a late reunion after a period of scandal affecting the poet's reputation and repelling accusations of insincerity and time-service.

Any intelligent student may find these divisions for himself, and having found them by time and patience arrange them consecutively in their *books*. He will then recognise what Shakespeare meant when he wrote :

O, let my books be then the eloquence
And dumb presagers of my speaking breast ;
Who plead for love, and look for recompense,
More than that tongue that more hath more express'd.
O, learn to read what silent love hath writ :
To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit.

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and if he still has any doubt, a line in another sonnet in the same *book* in which the above lines occur will show clearly that the reference is to previous *books* of sonnets written to the same person :

And of this book this learning mayst thou taste.

I invite scholars or critics to suggest or explain any other possible meaning for Shakespeare's use of the words "book" and "books" in his sonnets.

Having formed the divisions into books and rearranged the sonnets within the books, a working knowledge of the chronological order of the plays and of the progressive development of Shakespeare's style will enable any one to differentiate the early from the late books, and by correlating them with the plays of the sonnet period, to fit all of the books into chronological place.

The chronological order and sequence of the sonnets written to the "dark lady"—which are fragmentary—may be only approximated. This can be done by comparing and matching their subject-matter and style with the other series.

When I first conceived my plan of research I had no idea that so complete a restoration of the chronology and sequence of the sonnets as is here presented was possible, nor did I think it possible to throw any new light upon the first six or eight years of Shakespeare's London life. The new light shed by *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London* on Shakespeare's connection with Burbage and the Lord Chamberlain's company from 1586-7 until 1591, was made possible by the collection and compilation of the London and provincial records of contemporary dramatic companies

by Mr. John Tucker Murray in 1910.¹ The light thrown upon Shakespeare's connection with the Earl of Pembroke's company, however, was again due to a revelation of Chapman's hostility to Shakespeare in the composition of the old *Histriomastix* at this period, reflecting the misfortunes of this company upon its unprofitable tour in 1593.

When I outlined my original programme of research I had no conception of Florio's long connection with the Earl of Southampton, nor of the manner in which this connection and his unique personality influenced Shakespeare's work. The inception of this connection and a forward sketch, showing the manner in which his character reacted upon Shakespeare's work, have been displayed in my recent publication and is further developed in the present book.

While I adumbrated the solution of the *Troilus and Cressida* crux in *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, its fuller solution I owe to the inclusion by Mr. W. W. Greg in his edition of *Henslowe's Papers*, 1908, of a copy of Alleyn's plot of a play owned by the Lord Nottingham's men dealing with this subject. I had not previously had an opportunity to examine this paper.

The chapter with which I close my argument, carrying the sonnet interest down to 1609, the year of the publication of Thorpe's edition, is merely a summary of Shakespeare's relations with the scholars in the years between 1598 and 1609, and reflecting the aftermath of the sonnet story. It will take a book as large as the present volume fully to develop the personal and political phases of the plays produced during these years. In the meantime I

¹ *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642.* By John Tucker Murray, 1910.

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there sketch an outline of future research and make a number of suggestions and affirmations, the full evidence for which I do not now advance. If scholars who are habituated to points of view to which these run counter will, for the present, regard them as suggestions only and should care to follow them further, they will themselves, I believe, supply their confirmation.

As my first book, *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, the argument of which is closely linked with that of the present volume, has now for several years been out of print, I am including here three chapters taken from it, which deal with Chapman's and Roydon's connection with the sonnet story. I am also reprinting from my recent publication, *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*—of which only a limited edition has been printed and which will not be reissued separately—as introductory to the present volume, the chapter dealing with the inception of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Earl of Southampton, in order to give full coherence to the sonnet story.

My Shakespearean research of the past thirty years, leading to the restoration of the sonnets into their books and chronology, to the present demonstration of their autobiographical nature, to similar personal phases in the plays, and to the definite identification of the several figures of the sonnet story, has all been subsidiary to the larger purpose of proving a more positive and extended foundation of historical fact regarding Shakespeare and his methods of work as a basis for future biography. In all of the thirty-seven plays usually included in editions of his works, with the exception of the following—*Titus Andronicus*, *The Three Parts of Henry VI.*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Pericles*, and *Henry VIII.*, I recognise, in a greater

or less degree, reflections of his interest in contemporary life. The reason for the lack of such reflections in those mentioned will be apparent to any scholar. Of the remaining thirty plays this autobiographical or topical interest has been examined tentatively in the present or past publications in thirteen plays, leaving seventeen plays, and those including his most important dramas, still to be considered. In the plays produced between the end of 1598 and 1601 Shakespeare's relations to Southampton and his friends of the Essex faction are strongly reflected. After the latter date the reflections become less personal, pertaining more to the factional interests of his friends, and very incidentally to the dramatic rivalries of the time.

At a future time I hope to examine this phase of his later plays, as well as to develop Shakespeare's relations with his contemporaries during these later years, and particularly the manner in which his life and work were affected by his friendship for the Earl of Southampton, and his consequent political sympathy with the fortunes of the Essex faction, as well as his tacit hostility to the Cecilians, after the death of Essex on into the time of James.

Nearly all of the matter in this book has been in manuscript since the end of 1913, at which time I decided to defer publication until I had leisure to visit England and search the parish registers and other records in Bristol and Oxford concerning the Bird and Davenant families. This I hoped to do in the autumn of 1914, but the outbreak of the war compelled me to defer further work on the subject and to put off my visit to England until the spring of 1920.

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My recent investigations at Oxford and Bristol furnished me clues which necessitated an examination of the parish registers of a number of the old City of London churches, as well as a search for and examination of a large number of sixteenth-century wills at Somerset House. The results of this research will be found in the latter part of the fifth chapter of this volume and in the Appendix.

While in Oxford I had the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of the Rev. H. E. Salter, who six years before, by correspondence, had so ably assisted me in following up my theory regarding the persons and places indicated by Matthew Roydon in *Willobie his Avis*. Mr. Salter kindly introduced me to Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds of the Ashmolean Museum, whose research concerning the Oxford vintners Mr. Salter had mentioned to me in his correspondence in 1913. Mr. Leeds generously put his MSS. and notes at my service and also made a number of valuable suggestions regarding further lines of research which, among other things, have enabled me to demonstrate the parentage and indicate the early life of John Davenant of Oxford, as well as, inferentially, to show his connection with Oxford several years earlier than the first mention of him in the municipal records or in the parish registers of St. Martin's. Mr. Leeds at my request has further kindly consented to allow me to include, in the Appendix to the present volume, the portions of his able and interesting history of the Oxford vintners which relate to the Crosse Inn and The Tavern.

At Bristol my investigations were materially aided by the courteous co-operation of Mr. John Tremayne Lane, the City Treasurer, who placed the original City records preserved at the Council House at my service, and also

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kindly furnished me with transcripts of certain sixteenth-century wills relating to my search.

I am also much indebted to Mr. J. J. Simpson of St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol, whose advice and suggestions saved me much time in my work.

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SHAKESPEARE'S SONNET STORY

1592-1598

CHAPTER I

INCEPTION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BE- TWEEN SHAKESPEARE AND THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

AS the ensuing analysis and history of Shakespeare's Sonnets make it clear that the majority of them were written to the Earl of Southampton, and also that the incidents and conditions which their developing story reveals regarding that nobleman and his affairs are, synchronously with the sonnets, reflected in all of Shakespeare's concurrent plays, the deduction is warranted that his interest in and regard for his patron would be exhibited also in the plays produced from the beginning of their connection. The first actual record we possess of their relations is in the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* by Shakespeare to Southampton, in May 1593.

In a recent publication I have shown that at this period Shakespeare was a member of and writer for the Earl of Pembroke's company, a Burbage organisation with which he had been connected since some time in 1591, when this

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new company was formed, and consonant with the conclusions of the best text critics that in the time between 1591 and 1593 he had produced his first drafts of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* (*All's Well that Ends Well*) in its early form. Let us then inquire how these plays pertain to Shakespeare's observations of and experience with life at this period, and whether or not they also reflect the influence of his acquaintance with the Earl of Southampton and the theme of the earliest *book* of sonnets in the same manner as this connection is reflected in the later *books* of sonnets, and in concurrent plays.

A brief outline and examination of the recorded incidents of Southampton's life in these early years may throw some new light upon the earliest stages of this acquaintance, especially when those incidents and conditions are considered *correlatively with the spirit and intention of the poems which Shakespeare wrote for him, and dedicated to him a little later*.

Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, and father of Shakespeare's patron, died on 4th October 1581. Henry, his only surviving son, thus became Earl of Southampton before he had attained his eighth birthday, and consequently became, and remained until his majority, a ward of the Crown. The Court of Chancery was at that period a much simpler institution than it is to-day, and Lord Burghley seems personally to have exercised the chief functions of that Court in its relation to wards in Chancery, and also to have monopolised its privileges. We may infer that this was a position by no means distasteful to that prudent minister's provident and nepotic spirit. Burghley was essentially of that type of statesman who are better contented with actual power, and its

accruing profits, than the appearance of power and the glory of its trappings. Leicester, Raleigh, and Essex might, in turn, pose their day as they willed upon the political stage so long as they confined themselves to subordinate or ornamental capacities ; but whenever they attempted seriously to encroach upon the reins of power, he set himself to circumvent them with a patience and finesse that invariably wrought their undoing.

In this system of politics he had an apt pupil in his son, Sir Robert Cecil, who viewed through the ages, while presenting a less solid figure than his father, displays a much more refined and Machiavellian craft.

The attention and care which Burghley bestowed from the beginning upon his young ward's affairs bespeak an interest within an interest when his prudent and calculating nature is borne in mind and the later incidents of his guardianship are considered.

Towards the end of 1585, at the age of twelve, Southampton became a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, from whence he graduated as M.A. about four years later, *i.e.* in June 1589. After leaving Cambridge in 1589, *he lived for over a year with his mother in Sussex.* Early in this year, or possibly while Southampton was still at Cambridge, Burghley had opened negotiations with the Countess of Southampton with the object of uniting the interests and fortunes of her son with his own house, by consummating a marriage between this wealthy and promising young peer and his own granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. Burghley's extreme interest in the match is fully attested by a few letters that are still extant. In the Calendar State Papers we have an apologetic letter from Sir Thomas Stanhope

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(whose wife and daughter had recently visited Lady Southampton at Cowdray House) to Lord Burghley, dated 15th July 1590, assuring him that he had never sought to procure the young Earl of Southampton in marriage for his daughter, as he knew Burghley intended marriage between him and the Lady Vere. That an actual engagement of marriage had already been entered into, we have proof in another letter dated 19th September 1590, from Anthony Brown, Viscount Montague (Southampton's maternal grandfather), to Lord Burghley. Regarding this engagement he writes, that Southampton "is not averse from it," and repeats further that his daughter, Lady Southampton, is not aware of any alteration in her son's mind. The tone of this latter epistle does not seem to evince any great enthusiasm for the match upon the part of either Southampton or his mother; its rather diffident spirit was not lost upon Burghley, who, within a few days of its receipt, commanded the attendance of his young ward at Court. Upon 14th October 1590—that is, less than a month after Viscount Montague's letter to Burghley—we have a letter from Lady Southampton announcing her son's departure for London, and commending him to Burghley, but making no mention of the proposed marriage. *From the fact that she thanks Burghley for the "long time" he "had intrusted" her son with her, we may infer that his present departure for London was occasioned by Burghley's order, and also that the "long time," indicated by Lady Southampton's letter, was the interval between Southampton's leaving Cambridge in June 1589 and his present departure for London in October 1590.* We are also assured by this data that Southampton had not travelled upon the Continent previous to his coming to Court. Between the

time of his coming to Court in October 1590 and August 1591 I find no dates in contemporary records referring to Southampton; but it appears evident that these nine months were spent at Court.

Some misgivings regarding the young Earl's desire for the match with his granddaughter seem to have arisen in Burghley's mind in March 1592, *at which time Southampton was with the English forces in France*. From this we may judge that Southampton's departure for the wars was undertaken at his own initiative and not at Burghley's suggestion. It appears likely that a lack of marital ardour inspired his martial ardour at this time, and that Burghley was conscious of his disinclination to the proposed marriage. In a letter dated 6th March 1592 (new style), Roger Manners writing to Burghley tells him he has been at North Hall with the Countess of Warwick, whom he reports as "very well inclined to the match between the Earl of Bedford and the Lady Vere." "She is desirous to know," he adds, "if your Lordship approves of it." While this letter shows that Burghley at this date had doubts regarding Southampton's fulfilment of his engagement, other inferences lead me to judge that it was not finally disrupted until the spring of 1594.

We have record that Southampton's name was entered as a student of Gray's Inn in July 1590—that is, three months before his arrival in London—and may therefore assume that some of his subsequent time in London was occupied in more or less perfunctory legal studies.

As continental travel and an acquaintance with foreign tongues—at least Italian and French—had then come to be regarded as a part of a nobleman's education, Burghley, soon after Southampton's coming to Court, provided him

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with a tutor of languages in the person of John Florio, who thereafter continued in his pay and patronage as late as, if not later than, 1598. Even after this date Southampton continued to befriend Florio for many years.

As Florio continued in Southampton's service during the entire sonnet period and played an important rôle in *the story of the sonnets* a brief consideration of his heredity and personal characteristics may help us to realise the manner in which Shakespeare held "the mirror up to nature" in his dramatic characterisations.

John Florio was born in 1545 and was the son of Michael Angelo Florio, a Florentine Protestant, who left Italy in the reign of Henry VIII. to escape the persecution in the Valteline. Florio's father was pastor to a congregation of his religious compatriots in London for several years. He was befriended by Archbishop Cranmer, and was patronised by Sir William Cecil during the reign of Edward VI., but lost his church and the patronage of Cecil on account of charges of gross immorality that were made against him. We are informed by Anthony Wood that the elder Florio left England upon the accession of Mary, and moved to the Continent—probably to France, where John Florio received his early education. The earliest knowledge we have of John Florio in England is that he lived at Oxford for several years in his youth, and that, in or about 1576, he became tutor in Italian to a Mr. Barnes, son of the Bishop of Durham.

In the same year that Florio became tutor to the son of the Bishop of Durham, Edmund Spenser graduated at Cambridge and went to live at some unknown place in the north of England. Nothing definite is known of Spenser for the next two years except that for a portion of this

time, and probably the whole of it, he lived in the "north parts" of England, and while there that he fell in love with a lady whom he celebrates in *The Shepheard's Calendar* under the name of Rosalinde, "which," his friend E. K. writes, "is a feigned name which being well ordered will bewray the very name of his love and mistress." Nothing more definite than this is known of her identity, though many attempts have been made at its solution. The "north parts" of England in which he lived are also still unknown, though it has been assumed that Lancashire is intended owing to the fact that a family of Spencers is found there. In 1579 Spenser published *The Shepheard's Calendar*, telling, metaphorically, the story of his love for Rosalinde and of her seduction by Menalcas; all of which took place some time in the interval between 1576 and 1578, and while he lived in the "north parts" of England.

As Florio was evidently the Menalcas alluded to by Spenser and, as I shall indicate, was recognised in this light by Shakespeare, and as Spenser, Menalcas and Rosalinde lived at this time in the same locality, it becomes likely that the "north parts" of England was Durham, where Florio probably lived at this period—in the vacations—with the Bishop of Durham as tutor to his son. It was in the year that Spenser is reported to have been taken up and befriended by the Earl of Leicester (1578) that Florio dedicated his *First Fruites* to that nobleman. *The Shepheard's Calendar* was published in the following year.

In 1581, according to Wood, Florio matriculated at Magdalen and was teacher and instructor to certain scholars at the University. In 1578 he was still living at Oxford

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when he dedicated his *First Fruites* to the Earl of Leicester ; his dedication being dated " from my lodgings in Worcester Place." In 1580 he dedicated a translation from the Italian of Ramusio to Edward Bray, Sheriff of Oxford, and two years later dedicated to Sir Edmund Dyer a MS. collection of Italian proverbs, which is also dated from Oxford on the 12th of November 1582. I have recently found in an Oxford parish record that Florio was still in Oxford as late as September 1585, and that he was married at that time. The register of St. Peter's in the Baylie records the baptism of Joane Florio, daughter of John Florio, upon 24th September in that year.

Nothing more is known concerning Florio between 1582 and 1591 ; in the latter year he published his *Second Fruites*, dedicating it to a recent patron, Mr. Nicholas Saunder of Ewell. Between about 1590 and 1591 and the end of 1598, and possibly later, he continued in the pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton, dedicating his *Worlde of Wordes* in the latter year " To the Right Honourable Patrons of Virtue, Patterns of Honour, Roger, Earl of Rutland ; Henry, Earl of Southampton ; and Lucy, Countess of Bedford." A new and enlarged edition of this book, containing his portrait, was published in 1611. In the medallion surrounding this picture he gives his age as fifty-eight, which would date his birth in 1553, the year of Queen Mary's accession. It is evident that Florio understated his age, as he is said to have received his early education in France and to have returned to England with his father upon the accession of Elizabeth in 1558. Anthony Wood gives the date of his birth as 1545 ; his authority for this I have recently found in *Registrum Universitatus, Oxon.*, vol. ii., by Andrew Clark : " 1st May

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1581. Magd. Col. John Florio aet 36 serviens Mri Barnes." Florio was vain enough to prevaricate on a matter of this nature. In 1603 he published his chief work, a translation of *The Essaies of Montaigne*. He was attached to the Court of James I. as French and Italian tutor to Prince Henry and the Queen, and also held the appointment of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

Florio was married on 9th September 1617 to a Rose Spicer, of whom nothing earlier than the marriage record is known. From the facts that his daughter Aurelia was already married at the time of his death in 1625, and that in his will he leaves her "the wedding ring wherewith I married her mother," it is evident that Rose Spicer was his second wife.

Following a suggestion made by the Rev. N. J. Halpin, it is supposed that his first wife was a Rose Daniel, a sister of Samuel Daniel, the poet, who was Florio's classfellow at Oxford. In the address to dedicatory verses by Daniel, prefixed to the 1611 edition of Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*, he calls Florio "My dear friend and brother, Mr. John Florio, one of the gentlemen of her Majesties Royal Privy Chamber." From this it has been supposed that Florio's first wife was Daniel's sister, and Mr. Halpin inferred that she was named Rose from his assumption that Spenser refers to her as Rosalinde, and to Florio as Menalcas in *The Shepheard's Calendar* in 1579. Mr. Grosart, who carefully investigated the matter, states that Daniel—who in 1611 was also a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber—had only two sisters, neither of them being named Rose. It is likely, then, that Daniel referred to his official connection with Florio by the term "brother," as in 1603, in a similar address to dedicatory verses prefixed to *Montaigne's*

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Essaies he refers to him only as "My Friend." There is no known record of Florio's first marriage.

It is very unlikely, however, that two women named Rose should have come so intimately into Florio's life, and probable, when all the evidence is considered, that Rose Spicer, the "dear wife Rose" mentioned in his will, was the "Rosalinde" of his youth, whom, it appears, he had seduced, and with whom he had evidently lived in concubinage in the intervening years; making tardy amends by marriage in 1617, only eight years before his death. His marriage to Rose Spicer was probably brought about by the admonitions of his friend Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, under whose influence Florio became religious in his declining years.

In Florio's will, in which he bequeaths nearly all of his small property to "his beloved wife Rose," he regrets that he "cannot give or leave her more in requital of her tender love, loving care, painful diligence, and *continual labour to me in all my fortunes and many sicknesses*, than whom never had husband a more loving wife, painful nurse, and comfortable consort." The words I have italicised indicate conjugal relations covering a much longer period than the eight years between his formal marriage in 1617 and his death in 1625. The term "*all my fortunes*" certainly implies a connection between them antedating Florio's seventy-second year.

We may infer that the Bishop of Llandaff and Florio's pastor, Dr. Cluet, whom he appointed overseers and executors of his will, held Florio in light esteem, as "for certain reasons" they renounced its execution. The Earl of Pembroke, to whom he bequeathed his books, apparently neglected to avail himself of the legacy,

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and probably for the same reasons. An examination of Florio's characteristic will¹ may suggest the nature of these reasons.

Mr. Halpin's inference that Florio, as Menalcas, had already married "Rosalinde" in 1596, when the last books of *The Faerie Queen* were published, is deduced from the idea that the originals for "Mirabella" and the "Carle and fool" of *The Faerie Queen* are identical with those for "Rosalinde" and "Menalcas" of *The Shepheard's Calendar*. While it is probable that Spenser had the same originals in mind in both cases, an analysis of his verses in *The Faerie Queen* shows that the "Carle and fool," who accompany Mirabella, represent two persons, *i.e.* "Disdaine" and "Scorne." In the following verses Mirabella speaks :

In prime of youthly yeares, when first the flowre
Of beauty gan to bud, and bloosme delight,
And nature me endu'd with plenteous dowre
Of all her gifts, that pleased each living sight,
I was belov'd of many a gentle Knight,
And sude and sought with all the service dew :
Full many a one for me deepe groand and sight,
And to the dore of death for sorrow drew,
Complayning *out on me* that would not on them rew.

But let love that list, or live or die,
Me list not die for any lovers doole ;
Ne list me leave my loved libertie
To pittie him that list to play the foole ;
To love myselfe I learned had in schoole.
Thus I triumphed long in lovers paine.
And sitting carelesse on the scornors stoole,
Did laugh at those that did lament and plaine ;
But all is now repayd with interest againe.

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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For loe ! the winged God that woundeth harts
Causde me be called to accompt therefore ;
And for revengement of those wrongfull smarts,
Which I to others did inflict afore,
Addeem'd me to endure this penaunce sore ;
That in this wize, and this unmeete array,
With these two lewd companions, and no more,
Disdaine and Scorne, I through the world should stray.

Assuming " Mirabella " and " Rosalinde " to indicate the same woman, *i.e.* Rose Spicer, whom Florio married in 1617, but with whom he had been living in concubinage for about eighteen years when the last three books of *The Faerie Queen* were published, Mirabella's penance of being forced to " stray through the world " accompanied by " Disdaine and Scorne," would match her plight as Florio's mistress, but would not apply to her as his wife.

The Rosalinde indicated by Spenser was undoubtedly a North of England girl, while Samuel Daniel belonged to a Somerset family. While it is certain that Florio was married before 1617, it is evident he did not marry a Miss Daniel, and that Menalcas had not married Rosalinde in 1596 ; yet it is practically certain that Spenser refers to Florio as Menalcas, and that Shakespeare recognised that fact in 1592 and pilloried Florio to the initiated of his day as Parolles in *Love's Labour's Won* in this connection. Florio habitually signed himself " Resolute John Florio " to acquittances, obligations, dedications, etc. When he commenced this practice I cannot learn, but the use of the word was known to Spenser in 1579, as the Greek word Menalcas means Resolute. It is not difficult to fathom Spenser's meaning in regard to the relations between Menalcas and Rosalinde, and it is clear that he had a poor

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opinion of the moral character of the former, and plainly charges him with seduction.

And thou, Menalcas, that by treacheree
Didst underfong my lasse to waxe so light,
Shouldest well be known for such thy villanee.
But since I am not as I wish I were,
Ye gentle Shepheards, which your flocks do feede,
Whether on hylls, or dales, or other where,
Beare wnesse all of thys so wicked deede :
And tell the lasse, whose flowre is woxe a weede,
And faultlesse fayth is turned to faithlesse fere,
That she the truest shepheards hart made bleede,
That lyves on earth, and loved her most dere.

The very unusual word "underfong" which Spenser uses in these verses, and the gloss which he appends to the verses of *The Shepheard's Calendar* for June, were not lost upon Shakespeare. Spenser, in the glossary, writes : "Menalcas, the name of a shepheard in Virgile ; but here is meant a person unknowne and secrete, against whome he often bitterly invayeth. *Underfonge*, undermyne, and deceive by false suggestion." The immoral flippancy of the remarkable dialogue between the disreputable Parolles and the otherwise sweet and maidenly Helena, in Act 1. Scene 1. of *All's Well that Ends Well*, has often been noticed by critics as a curious lapse in dramatic congruity on the part of Shakespeare. This is evidently one of several such instances in his plays where he sacrificed his objective dramatic art to a subjective contingency, though by doing so undoubtedly adding a greater interest to contemporary presentations, not only by the palpable reflection of Spenser's point at Florio in the play on the word "undermine" in a similar connection, but also as reflecting the wide latitude his Italianate breeding and his Mediterranean unmorality

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allowed him and his type to take in conversing with English gentlewomen at that period.¹

The Rev. N. J. Halpin was not far from the truth in saying that "Florio was beset with tempers and oddities which exposed him more perhaps than any man of his time to the ridicule of his contemporaries," and that "he was in his literary career, jealous, vain, irritable, pedantic, bombastical, petulant and quarrelsome, ever on the watch for an affront, always in the attitude of a fretful porcupine."

Florio became connected as tutor of languages with the Earl of Southampton some time before the end of April 1591, when he issued his *Second Fruites* and dedicated it to his recent patron, Nicholas Saunder of Ewell. In this publication there is a passage which not only exhibits the

¹ I will quote a portion of this peculiar passage to show the reflection of Spenser's glossary in its application to Florio as Parolles:

PAR. Save you, fair queen !

HEL. And you, monarch !

PAR. No.

HEL. And no.

PAR. Are you meditating on virginity ?

HEL. Ay. You have some stain of soldier in you : let me ask you a question. Man is enemy to virginity ; how may we barricade it against him ?

PAR. Keep him out.

HEL. But he assails ; and our virginity, though valiant, in the defence yet is weak : unfold to us some warlike resistance.

PAR. There is none : man, sitting down before you, will undermine you and blow you up.

HEL. Bless our poor virginity from underminers and blowers up ! Is there no military policy, how virgins might blow up men ?

PAR. Virginity being blown down, man will quicklier be blown up : marry, in blowing him down again, with the breach yourselves made, you lose your city. It is not politic in the commonwealth of nature to preserve virginity. Loss of virginity is rational increase, and there was never virgin got till virginity was first lost. That you were made of is metal to make virgins. Virginity by being once lost may be ten times found ; by being ever kept, it is ever lost : 'tis too cold a companion ; away with 't !

HEL. I will stand for 't a little, though therefore I die a virgin.

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man's unblushing effrontery, but also gives us a passing glimpse of his early relations with his noble patron, the spirit of which Shakespeare reflects in Falstaff's impudent familiarity with Prince Hal. This passage serves also to show that at the time it was written, the last of April 1591, Florio had entered the pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton. He introduces two characters as follows, and with true Falstaffian assurance gives them his own and Southampton's Christian names—Henry and John. Falstaff invariably addresses the Prince as Hal.

HENRY. Let us make a match at tennis.

JOHN. Agreed, this fine morning calls for it.

HENRY. And after, we will go to dinner, and after dinner we will see a play.

JOHN. The plaies they play in England are neither right comedies nor right tragedies.

HENRY. But they do nothing but play every day.

JOHN. Yea: but they are neither right comedies nor right tragedies.

HENRY. How would you name them then?

JOHN. Representations of history, without any decorum.

It shall later be shown that Chapman also noticed Florio's presumption in this instance, and that he recognised the fact, or else assumed as a fact, that Florio's stricture on English historical drama was directed against Shakespeare.

We may judge from the conversation between Henry and John that Southampton, in attaining a colloquial knowledge of French and Italian, entered into intimate relations with Florio, and from the interest that he displayed in dramatic affairs in later years, that during his first year in London he would be likely frequently to witness the performance of plays in the public theatres. It is probable, then, that he would have seen performances

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by both Pembroke's and Strange's companies in this year.

It is evident that an acquaintance between the Earl of Southampton and Shakespeare was not formed previous to Southampton's coming to Court in October 1590. A first acquaintance undoubtedly had its inception between that date and Southampton's departure for France early in 1592. I will now develop evidence for my belief that their first acquaintance was made upon the occasion of the Queen's progress to Cowdray and Tichfield House in August and September 1591.

I find no record in the State Papers concerning Southampton between the date of his departure from home for the Court in October 1590 and 2nd March 1592 (new style), when he wrote from Dieppe to the Earl of Essex. We may, however, infer that he was still in England on 15th August 1591, the date of the arrival of the Queen and Court at Cowdray House. *It is evident also that the progress would not have proceeded a week later to his own country seat, Tichfield House, unless he was present.* We have evidence in the State Papers that the itineraries of the Queen's progresses were usually planned by Burghley; the present progress to Cowdray and Tichfield was evidently arranged *in furtherance of his matrimonial plans for his granddaughter and Southampton.* The records of this progress give us details concerning the entertainments for the Queen, which were given at some of the other noblemen's houses she visited, the verses, masques, and plays being still preserved in a few instances, even where she tarried for only a few days. The Court remained at Cowdray House for a full week. No verses nor plays recited or performed upon this occasion, nor upon the occasion of her visit, a week later,

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to the Earl of Southampton's house at Tichfield, have been preserved in the records. It is very probable, however, in the light of the facts to follow, *that our poet and his fellow-players attended the Earl of Southampton, both at Cowdray House and at Tichfield, during this progress.* In the description of the Queen's entertainment during her stay at Cowdray, I find a most suggestive resemblance to much of the action and plot of *Love's Labour's Lost*. The Queen and Court arrived at Cowdray House at eight o'clock on Saturday evening, 15th August. That night, the records tell us, "her Majesty took her rest, and so in like manner the next, which was Sunday, being most royally feasted, the proportion of breakfast being 3 oxen and 140 geese." "The next day," we are informed, "she rode in the park where a delicate bower" was prepared and "a nymph with a sweet song delivered her a crossbow to shoot at the deer, of which she killed three or four and the Countess of Kildare one." In *Love's Labour's Lost* the Princess and her ladies shoot at deer from a coppice.

PRINCESS. Then, forester, my friend, where is the bush
That we must stand and play the murderer in ?
FOR. Hereby, upon the edge of yonder coppice ;
A stand where you may make the fairest shoot.

In Act iv. Scene ii., Holofernes makes an "extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer," which is reminiscent of the "sweet song" delivered to the Queen by "the nymph."

HOL. Sir Nathaniel, will you hear an extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer ? And, to humour the ignorant, call I the deer the princess killed a pricket.

I will something affect the letter, for it argues facility.

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The preylful princess pierced and prick'd a pretty pleasing
pricket ;

Some say a sore, but not a sore, till now made sore with
shooting.

The dogs did yell ; put L to sore, then sorel jumps from
thicket ;

Or pricket sore, or else sorel ; the people fall a-hooting.

If sore be sore, then L to sore makes fifty sores one sorel.

Of one sore I an hundred make by adding but one more L.

In a former publication I have shown that an antagonism had developed between Shakespeare and Chapman as early as the year 1594, and in a more recent one have shown Matthew Roydon's complicacy with Chapman in his hostility to Shakespeare, also Shakespeare's cognizance of it. I have displayed Shakespeare's answers to the attacks of these scholars in his caricature of Chapman as Holofernes, and of Roydon as the curate Nathaniel. Chapman's attack upon Shakespeare in 1593 in the early *Histrionomastix*¹ and his reflection of the Earl of Southampton as Mavortius, give evidence that his hostility owed its birth to Shakespeare's success in winning the patronage and friendship of Southampton : unless Chapman and Roydon had already solicited this nobleman's patronage, or had at least come into contact with him in some manner and considered themselves displaced by Shakespeare, both the virulence of their opposition to our poet and the manner and matter of Chapman's slurs against him in *Histrionomastix*, and in the dedications of his poems to Matthew Roydon in 1594-5, are unaccountable.

It is likely that Matthew Roydon was one of the theological poets—who wrote anonymously for the stage—mentioned by Robert Greene in the introduction to *The*

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London.* Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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Farewell to Folly, which was published in 1591. It is probable also that Roydon is referred to as a writer for the stage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, where, after indicating Marlowe, Peele and Nashe, he says :

“ In this I might insert two more who have both writ against (for) these buckram gentlemen.”

Now, seeing that both Roydon and Chapman are satirised by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*, it occurs to me that the “preyful Princess” verses quoted above (which display parody in every line) are intended by Shakespeare to caricature the known work of the author of the sweet song delivered to the Queen by the nymph, and consequently that this song was from the pen of one of this learned couple. As I have already noticed, in the records of the Queen's stay at the other noblemen's houses that she visited on this progress, many verses and songs appear which were written specially for these occasions, while no songs nor verses have been preserved from the Cowdray or Tichfield festivities ; occasions when they would be likely to have been used, considering Southampton's interest in literary matters and the court paid to him by the writers of the day. Among the poems which I have collected that I attribute to Roydon, I have elsewhere noticed one that Shakespeare makes fun of at a later time in *Midsummer Night's Dream*—that is, *The Shepherd's Slumber*. This poem deals with the exact season of the year when the Queen was at Cowdray—“peascod time”—and also with the killing of deer,

When hound to horn gives ear till buck be killed,

and in one verse describes just such methods of killing deer as is suggested both in *Love's Labour's Lost* and in

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Nichol's Progresses ; which latter records the entertainment for the Queen at Cowdray House.

And like the deer, I make them fall !
That runneth o'er the lawn.
One drops down here ! another there !
In bushes as they groan ;
I bend a scornful, careless ear,
To hear them make their moan.

May not this be the identical "sweet song" delivered by the nymph to the Queen, and the occasion of the progress to Cowdray, in 1591, indicate the entry of Roydon and Chapman into the rivalry between Shakespeare and the scholars inaugurated two years earlier by Greene and Nashe ?

This poem which I attribute to Roydon has all the manner of an occasional production, and is about as senseless as most of his "absolute comicke inventions." The masque-like allegory it exhibits, introducing "Delight," "Wit," "Good Sport," "Honest Meaning" as persons, was much affected by the Queen and Court in their entertainments. At the marriage of Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, in 1599, a masque was given for the Queen in which, we are told, eight ladies of the Court performed. One of these ladies "wooed her to dawnce, her Majesty asked what she was, affection she said, affection, said the Queen, affection is false, yet her Majesty rose and dawnced." During the stay at Cowdray similar make-believe and allegory were evidently used in the entertainments given for the Queen. Roydon's poem may, like *Love's Labour's Lost*, be a reflection of such courtly nonsense.

During the first three days of the Queen's stay at Cowdray she was feasted and entertained (the records inform us) by Lady Montague, but on the fourth day "she

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dined at the Priory," where Lord Montague kept bachelor's hall, and whither he had retired to receive and entertain the Queen without the assistance of Lady Montague. This reception and entertainment of the Queen by Lord Montague was, no doubt, accompanied by fantastic allegory—Lord Montague and his friends playing the parts of hermits, or philosophers in retreat, as in the case of the King of Navarre and his friends in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The paucity of plot in this play has been frequently noticed, and no known basis for its general action and plot has ever been discovered or proposed.

At this time (1591) Shakespeare had been in London only from four to five years, and, judging from the prominence in his profession which he shortly afterwards attained, we may be assured that these were years of patient drudgery in his calling. Neither in his Stratford years, nor during these inceptive theatrical years, would he be likely to have had much, if any, previous experience with the social life of the nobility; yet here, in what is recognised by practically all critical students as his earliest comedy, the original composition of which is dated by the best text critics in, or about, 1591, he displays an intimate acquaintance with their sports and customs which in spirit and detail most significantly coincide with the actual records of the Queen's progress, late in 1591, to Cowdray House—the home of the mother of the nobleman whose fortunes, from this time forward for a period of from ten to fifteen years, may be shown to have influenced practically every poem and play he produced.

As the incidents of the Queen's stay at Cowdray are reflected in the plot and action of *Love's Labour's Lost*, so, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, or, at least in those portions

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of the play recognised by the best critics as the remains of the older play of *Love's Labour's Won*, the incidents and atmosphere of the Queen's stay at Tichfield House are also suggested. The gentle and dignified Countess of Rousillon suggests the widowed Countess of Southampton; the wise and courtly Lafeu gives us a sketch of Sir Thomas Heneage, the Vice-Chamberlain of the Court, who married Lady Southampton about three years later. Bertram's insensibility to Helena's love, and indifference to her charms, as well as his departure for the French Court, coincide with the actual facts in the case of Southampton, who at this time was apathetic to the match planned by his friends, and who also left home for France shortly after the Queen's visit to Cowdray. Parolles is, I am convinced, a caricature from life, and in his original characterisation in *Love's Labour's Won* was probably a replica of the original Armado of the earliest form of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Both of these characters I have already shown to be early sketches, or caricatures, of John Florio, the same individual who is caricatured in *Henry IV.* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as Sir John Falstaff. The characterisation of Parolles, as we have it in *All's Well that Ends Well*, is probably much more accentuated than the Parolles of the earlier form of the play, in which he would most likely have been presented as a fantastical fop, somewhat of the order of Armado. By the time the earlier play of 1591-2 was rewritten into its present form, in 1598, the original of the character of Parolles had in Shakespeare's opinion developed also into a "misleader of youth"; in fact, into another Falstaff, minus the adipose tissue.

As both *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* (*All's Well that Ends Well* in its early form) apparently

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reflect persons and incidents of the Cowdray-Tichfield progress, it is evident that both plays were composed after the event. It is of interest, then, to consider which, if any, of Shakespeare's plays were likely to have been presented upon that occasion.

As this narrative and argument develop, a date of composition later than the date of the Cowdray progress,—when Shakespeare first formed the acquaintance of the Earl of Southampton,—and based upon subjective evidence regarding the poet's relations with this nobleman, yet coinciding with the chronological conclusions of the best text critics, shall be demonstrated for all of Shakespeare's early plays, with the exception of *King John* and *The Comedy of Errors*. In all the early plays except these two I find palpable time reflections of Shakespeare's interest in the Earl of Southampton or his affairs. I therefore date the original composition of both of these early plays previous to the Cowdray progress in September 1591. I have already advanced my evidence for the original composition of Shakespeare's *King John* early in 1591. I cannot so palpably demonstrate the composition of *The Comedy of Errors* in this year, but, following the lead of the great majority of the text critics who date its composition in this year, and finding no internal reflection of Southampton or his affairs, I infer that it was written after the composition of *King John*, before Shakespeare had made Southampton's acquaintance, and intentionally for presentation before the Queen and Court at Cowdray or Tichfield. The fact that *The Comedy of Errors* is the shortest of all Shakespeare's plays, the farce-like nature of the play and its recorded presentation in 1594 before the members of Gray's Inn, with which Southampton was

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connected, mark it as one of the plays originally composed for private rather than for public presentation. It is evident that it never proved sufficiently popular upon the public boards to warrant its enlargement to the size of the average publicly presented play.

While I cannot learn the actual date at which Southampton left England, we have proof in a letter written by him to the Earl of Essex that he was in France upon 2nd March 1592.

When we take into consideration the fact that this visit of the Queen's to Cowdray and Tichfield was arranged by Burghley in furtherance of his plans to marry his granddaughter to the Earl of Southampton, and that Shakespeare's earlier sonnets (which I shall argue were written with the intention of forwarding this match) are of a period very slightly later than this, it is evident that the incidents of the Queen's stay at Cowdray and Tichfield would become known to Shakespeare by report, even though he was not himself present upon those occasions. The plot of the first four Acts of *Love's Labour's Lost*, such as it is, bears such a strong resemblance to the recorded incidents of that visit as to suggest reminiscence much more than hearsay.

While Burghley in this affair was, no doubt, primarily seeking a suitable alliance for his granddaughter, the rather hurried and peremptory manner of Southampton's invitation to Court may partially be accounted for by other motives, when the conditions of the Court and its intrigues at that period are considered.

The long struggle for political supremacy between Burghley and Elizabeth's first and most enduring favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, came to an end in 1588

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through the death of Leicester in that year. While Elizabeth's faith in Burghley's political wisdom was never at any time seriously shaken by the counsels of her more polished and courtly confidant, Leicester, there was a period in her long flirtation with the latter nobleman when the great fascination, which he undoubtedly exercised over her, seemed likely to lead her into a course which would completely alter, not only the political complexion of the Court, but possibly also the actual destinies of the Crown.

There was never at any period of their career any love lost between Burghley and Leicester ; the latter, in the hey-day of his favour, frequently expressed himself in such plain terms regarding Burghley that that minister could have had little doubt of the disastrous effect upon his own fortunes which might ensue from the consummation of Leicester's matrimonial ambitions. He, withal, wisely gauged the character and limits of Leicester's influence with Elizabeth. While Leicester played upon the vanities and weakness of the woman, Burghley appealed to the strong mentality and love of power of the queen ; yet though he unceasingly opposed Leicester's projects and ambitions, wherein they threatened his own political supremacy, or the good of the State, he seems to have recognised the impossibility of undermining the Queen's personal regard for her great favourite, which continued through all the years of his selfish, blundering and criminal career, down to the day of his death.

While Leicester also in time appears to have realised the impossibility of seriously impairing Burghley's power, he, to the last, lost no opportunity of baffling that Minister's most cherished personal policies. In introducing his stepson, Essex, to Court life and the notice of the Queen in 1583, it is

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evident that he had in mind designs other than the advancement of his young kinsman. Essex, from the first, seems to have realised in whose shoes he trod, and for the first ten years of his life at Court fully maintained the Leicester tradition, and seemed likely in time even to refine upon and enhance it. Had this young nobleman possessed ordinary equipoise of temper it is questionable if Burghley would later have succeeded in securing the succession of his own place and power to his son, Sir Robert Cecil. Preposterous as it may seem, when judged from a modern point of view, that the personal influence of this youth of twenty-three with the now aged Queen should, in any serious measure, have menaced the firm power and cautious policies of the experienced Burghley, we have abundance of evidence that he and his son regarded Essex's growing ascendancy as no light matter. From their long experience and intimate association with Elizabeth, and knowing her vanities and weaknesses, as well as her strength, they apprehended in her increasing favour for Essex the beginning and rooting of a power which might in time disintegrate their own solid foundations. The subtlety, dissimulation and unrelenting persistency with which Burghley and his son opposed themselves to Essex's growing influence, while yet posing as his confidants and well-wishers, fully bespeak the measure of their fears.

While Burghley himself lacked the polished manners and graceful presence of the courtier, which so distinguished Raleigh, Leicester and Essex, and owed his influence and power entirely to qualities of the mind and his indefatigable application to business, he had come to recognise the importance of these more ornamental endowments in securing and holding the regard of Elizabeth. His son, Sir Robert

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Cecil, who was not only puny and deformed, but also somewhat sickly all his days, made, and could make, no pretensions to courtier-like graces, and must depend for Court favour, to a yet greater degree than his father, upon his own powers of will and mind. To combat Essex's social influence at Court, these two more clerkly politicians, soon after Essex's appearance, proceeded to supplement their own power by making an ally of the accomplished Raleigh; to whom, previous to this, they had shown little favour. They soon succeeded in fomenting a rivalry between these two courtiers which, with some short periods of truce, continued until their combined machinations finally brought Essex to the block. How Sir Robert Cecil, having used Raleigh as a tool against Essex, in turn effected his political ruin shall be shown in due course.

We will now return to Southampton and to the period of his coming to London and the Court, towards the end of October, in the year 1590. A recent biographer of Shakespeare sums up the incidents of this period in the following generalisation: "It was naturally to the Court that his friends sent him at an early age to display his varied graces. He can hardly have been more than seventeen when he was presented to his Sovereign. She showed him kindly notice, and the Earl of Essex, her brilliant favourite, acknowledged his fascination. Thenceforth Essex displayed in his welfare a brotherly interest which proved in course of time a very doubtful blessing." This not only hurries the narrative but also misconstrues the facts and ignores the most interesting phases of the friendship between these noblemen, as they influenced Southampton's subsequent connection with Shakespeare. Essex may have acknowledged Southampton's fascination

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at this date, though I find no evidence that he did so, but for the assertion that he "thenceforth" displayed in his welfare a brotherly interest there is absolutely no basis. All reasonable inference, and some actual evidence, lead me to quite divergent conclusions regarding the relations that subsisted between these young noblemen at this early date. Southampton's interests, it is true, became closely interwoven with those of Essex at a somewhat later period when he had become enamoured of Essex's cousin, Elizabeth Vernon, whom he eventually married. The inception of this latter affair cannot, however, at the earliest, be dated *previous to the late spring of 1594*. At whatever date Southampton and Essex became intimate friends, there can be no doubt that such a conjunction was contrary to Burghley's intentions in bringing Southampton to the Court in October 1590. In making use of Raleigh to counteract Essex's influence with the Queen, the Cecils were well aware, as their subsequent treatment of Raleigh proves, that they might in him augment a power which, if opposed to their own, would prove even more dangerous than that of Essex; yet feeling the need of a friend and ally in the more intimately social life of the Court, whose interests would be identical with their own, they chose what appeared to them an auspicious moment to introduce their graceful and accomplished protégé and prospective kinsman to the notice of the Queen, whose predilection for handsome young courtiers seemed to increase with advancing age.

Essex, although then but in his twenty-sixth year, had spent nearly six years at Court. During this period he had been so spoiled and petted by his doting Sovereign that he had already upon several occasions temporarily

turned her favour to resentment by his arrogance and ill-humour. In his palmiest days even Leicester had never dared to take the liberties with the Queen now, at times, indulged in by this brilliant but wilful youth. In exciting Essex's hot and hasty temper the watchful Cecils soon found their most effectual means of defence.

Early in the summer of 1590 Essex, piqued by the Queen's refusal of a favour, committed what was, up till that time, his most wilful breach of Court decorum and flagrant instance of opposition to the Queen's wishes. Upon the 6th of April the office of Secretary of State became vacant by the death of Sir Francis Walsingham. Shortly afterward, Essex endeavoured to secure the office for William Davison, who, previous to 1587, had acted in the capacity of assistant to Walsingham and was therefore presumably well qualified for the vacant post. Upon the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587, Elizabeth, in disavowing her responsibility for the act, had made a scapegoat of Davison, who, she claimed, had secured her signature to the death-warrant by misrepresentation, and had proceeded with its immediate execution contrary to her commands. Though she deceived no one but herself by this characteristic duplicity, she never retreated from the stand she had taken, but, feeling conscious that she was doubted, to enforce belief in her sincerity, maintained her resentment against Davison to the last. Upon Elizabeth's refusal of the Secretaryship to his luckless protégé, Essex, in dudgeon, absented himself from the Court, and within a few weeks chose a yet more effectual means of exasperating the Queen by privately espousing Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter, Lady Sidney, widow of the renowned Sir Philip. When knowledge of this latest action reached the Queen

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her anger was kindled to a degree that (to the Court gossips) seemed to preclude Essex's forgiveness, or the possibility of his reinstatement in favour. With the intention of increasing Essex's ill-humour and still further enraging the Queen, Burghley now proposed that all his letters and papers be seized. *He also chose this period of estrangement to introduce his prospective grandson-in-law, Southampton, to the Court.* The very eagerness of Essex's enemies, however, appears to have cooled the Queen's anger, as we find that within a month of Southampton's arrival at the Court—that is, on 26th October—Essex is reported as “once more in good favour with the Queen.”

In the light of the foregoing facts and deductions, it does not seem likely that Burghley would encourage a friendship between Essex and Southampton. The assumption that he would (at least tacitly) seek rather to provoke a rivalry is, under the circumstances, more reasonable. Though I find no record in the State Papers of this immediate date that hostility was aroused between these young courtiers, in a paper of a later date, which refers to this time, I find fair proof that such a condition of affairs did at this period actually exist. In the declaration of the treason of the Earl of Essex, 1600–1, in the State Papers we have the following passage: “There was present this day at the Council, the Earl of Southampton, with whom in former time he (Essex) *had been at some emulations and differences at Court*, but after, Southampton, having married his kinswoman (Elizabeth Vernon), plunged himself wholly into his fortunes,” etc.

Though the matrimonial engagement between Burghley's granddaughter and Southampton never reached its consummation, and we have evidence in Roger Manners'

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letter of 6th March 1592 that some doubt in regard to its fulfilment had even then arisen in Court circles, we have good grounds for assuming that all hope for the union was not abandoned by Burghley till a later date. Lady Elizabeth Vere eventually married the Earl of Derby in January 1595. This marriage was arranged for in the summer of the preceding year, and after the Earl of Derby had come into his titles and estates, through the death of his elder brother, in 1594.

Referring again to the State Papers, we have on 15th August 1594 the statement of a Jesuit, named Edmund Yorke, who is reported as saying "Burghley poisoned the Earl of Derby so as to marry his granddaughter to his brother." Fernando Stanley, Earl of Derby, died under suspicious circumstances after a short illness, and it was reported at the time that he was poisoned. As he had recently been instrumental in bringing about the execution of a prominent Jesuit, whom he had accused of having approached him with seditious proposals, it was believed at the time that an emissary of that society was concerned in his death. While disregarding Yorke's atrocious imputation against Burghley, we may safely date the inception of the negotiations leading to Elizabeth Vere's marriage somewhere after 16th April, the date of the preceding Earl's death: Burghley did not choose younger sons in marriage for his daughters and granddaughters. Thus we are assured that, at however earlier date the prospects for a marriage between Southampton and Lady Vere were abandoned, they had ceased to be entertained by the early summer of 1594. Shortly after this, Southampton's infatuation for Elizabeth Vernon had its inception. The intensity of the young nobleman's early interest in this

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latter affair quite precludes the necessity for Shakespeare's poetical incitements thereto ; we may therefore refer the group of sonnets in which Shakespeare urges his friend's marriage to the more diffident affair of the earlier years and to a period antedating the publication of *Venus and Adonis* in May 1593. A comparison of the argument of *Venus and Adonis* with that of the first *book* of sonnets will indicate a common date of production, and that Shakespeare wrote both poems with the same purpose in view.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTORY TO THE SONNETS

THE earliest record we possess of sonnets by Shakespeare is in the year 1598, when Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, mentions Shakespeare and refers to his "sugred sonnets among his private friends." In the following year two of the sonnets, those numbered 138 and 144, appeared in a somewhat garbled form in a collection of poems by various hands—but all attributed to Shakespeare—published by William Jaggard under the title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. We have no further record of sonnets by Shakespeare until the year 1609, when the whole collection as we now know them, and a poem entitled *A Lover's Complaint*, were published by Thomas Thorpe with the following title-page :

SHAKE-SPEARES

Sonnets.

Never before Imprinted.

At London

By G. ELD for T. T., and are
to be solde by William Aspley.

1609.

a direct descendent of this Wm Jaggard,
having the same name, continues to publish books
in Stafford-on-Avon. His ancestor mentioned above
is said to have come from London shortly before 1550.

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This edition was issued by Thorpe with the following dedication, evidently of his own making :

TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF .
THESE . INSUING . SONNETS .
MR. W. H. . ALL . HAPPINESSE.
AND . THAT . ETERNITIE .
PROMISED
BY
OUR . EVER-LIVING . POET
WISHETH .
THE . WELL-WISHING .
ADVENTURER . IN .
SETTING .
FORTH .

T. T.

Nothing relating to the Sonnets has been so misleading to honest students, and so fruitful of will-o'-the-wisp theories, as this dedication.

Most theories regarding the Sonnets based in any way upon this dedication or the initials "W. H." assume that they were published with Shakespeare's cognizance and the dedication penned with his sanction, and that the initials "W. H." indicate the person addressed in the first series, running from 1 to 126.

By an accumulation of evidence I shall demonstrate that the bulk of the sonnets were written by Shakespeare to the Earl of Southampton between 1592 and 1599, in sequences or, as Shakespeare calls them, "books," numbering twenty sonnets to a book, and the remainder—probably in similar sequences—to Mistress Anne Davenant, the first wife of John Davenant, host of The Tavern, afterwards

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known as the Crown Tavern of Oxford, and that they were not intended by Shakespeare for publication or sale, and consequently that in Thorpe's edition the sequences are dispersed and the sonnets disarranged both sequentially and chronologically. It shall appear evident then that Shakespeare had no hand in their publication. I believe the evidence I adduce will convince the reader that the sonnets were collected from their original recipients by John Florio and published by him in collusion with George Chapman and others in 1609 as an attack upon Shakespeare by making public the basis of the shadowed scandal in *Willobie his Avis*, which these conspirators endeavoured again to issue in this year.

After 1609 no other editions of the Sonnets were published until the year 1640, when they were issued in a rearranged form and sequence, under various headings, with the title: "POEMS: Written by Wil. SHAKESPEARE, Gent. Printed at London by Tho. Cotes, and are to be sold by John Benson, dwelling in St. Dunstanes Churchyard. 1640." Eight of the sonnets in Thorpe's edition are missing from Benson's publication.

We may judge from Benson's edition that whatever autobiographical interest may lie hidden in the Sonnets it had been quite lost sight of by this time. With Benson's and with later editions we have nothing to do in this inquiry.

When I first undertook an analysis of Thorpe's arrangement I found so many plain sequences of two and three sonnets that I advanced the opinion that the whole series was originally written in such small sequences as letters in verse. The very plain sequence numbered from 1 to 17 gave me pause, and later I also found one or two groups

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of five or six sonnets in what palpably appeared to be their true sequential order. In one sonnet, No. 77, I find the expression, *this book* :

And of *this book* this learning mayst thou taste.

This expression evidently alluded to a larger number of sonnets than two or three ; the sonnet in which the expression appears is preceded by only one or two sonnets that show sequential continuity, and is followed by a sonnet exhibiting quite a different subject and mental attitude. I now surmised that this sonnet was probably a part, and evidently the ending, of a larger sequence to which the term *book* might be applied. In sonnet No. 23 I find the expression, *my books* :

O, let *my books* be then the eloquence
And dumb presagers of my speaking breast.

This appeared to me to be an allusion to sonnets previously produced by Shakespeare which had evidently been written in books or sequences for his friend.

If then the Sonnets were produced in sequences, I inferred that each of these sequences would probably be of the same size and of a conventional number.

I now searched the Sonnets carefully, seeking for evidence of palpable sequential disarrangement, and soon found one or two sonnets that seemed to have no possible connection with the contexts given them by Thorpe, and which also appeared to link themselves perfectly in manner and matter with other sonnets widely separated from them, that showed equal incongruity in their present connections. For instance, let us compare sonnet 24 with its present contexts 23 and 25.

SONNET XXIII.

As an unperfect actor on the stage,
 Who with his fear is put besides his part,
 Or some fierce thing replete with too much rage,
 Whose strength's abundance weakens his own heart ;
 So I, for fear of trust, forget to say
 The perfect ceremony of love's rite,
 And in mine own love's strength seem to decay,
 O'ercharged with burthen of mine own love's might.
 O, let my books be then the eloquence
 And dumb presagers of my speaking breast ;
 Who plead for love, and look for recompense,
 More than that tongue that more hath more express'd
 O, learn to read what silent love hath writ :
 To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit.

SONNET XXIV.

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd
 Thy beauty's form in table of my heart ;
 My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,
 And perspective it is best painter's art.
 For through the painter must you see his skill,
 To find where your true image pictured lies ;
 Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,
 That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.
 Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done :
 Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me
 Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun
 Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee ;
 Yet eyes this cunning want to grace their art,
 They draw but what they see, know not the heart.

SONNET XXV.

Let those who are in favour with their stars
 Of public honour and proud titles boast,
 Whilst I, whom fortune of such triumph bars,
 Unlook'd for joy in that I honour most.

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Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread
But as the marigold at the sun's eye,
And in themselves their pride lies buried,
For at a frown they in their glory die.
The painful warrior famoused for fight,
After a thousand victories once foil'd,
Is from the book of honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toil'd :
 The happy I, that love and am beloved
 Where I may not remove nor be removed.

Here we find no connection in thought or theme. When sonnet 24 is succeeded by sonnets 46 and 47 a perfect context and a continued sequence appears.

SONNET XXIV.

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd
Thy beauty's form in table of my heart ;
My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,
And perspective it is best painter's art.
For through the painter must you see his skill,
To find where your true image pictured lies ;
Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,
That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.
Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done :
Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me
Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun
Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee ;
 Yet eyes this cunning want to grace their art,
 They draw but what they see, know not the heart.

SONNET XLVI.

Mine eye and heart are at a mortal war,
How to divide the conquest of thy sight ;
Mine eye my heart thy picture's sight would bar,
My heart mine eye the freedom of that right.
My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie,
A closet never pierced with crystal eyes,
But the defendant doth that plea deny,
And says in him thy fair appearance lies.

To 'cide this title is impanneled
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart ;
 And by their verdict is determined
 The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part :
 As thus ; mine eye's due is thine outward part,
 And my heart's right thine inward love of heart.

SONNET XLVII.

Betwixt mine eye and heart a league is took,
 And each doth good turns now unto the other :
 When that mine eye is famish'd for a look,
 Or heart in love with sighs himself doth smother,
 With my love's picture then my eye doth feast
 And to the painted banquet bids my heart ;
 Another time mine eye is my heart's guest
 And in his thoughts of love doth share a part :
 So, either by thy picture or my love,
 Thyself away art present still with me ;
 For thou not farther than my thoughts canst move,
 And I am still with them and they with thee ;
 Or, if they sleep, thy picture in my sight
 Awakes my heart to heart's and eye's delight.

Again, let us take sonnet 56 and compare it with its present contexts 55 and 57 ; no possible connection is to be found.

SONNET LV.

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
 Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme ?
 But you shall shine more bright in these contents
 Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time.
 When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
 And broils root out the work of masonry,
 Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
 The living record of your memory.
 'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
 Shall you pace forth ; your praise shall still find room
 Even in the eyes of all posterity
 That wear this world out to the ending doom.
 So, till the judgement that yourself arise,
 You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes.

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SONNET LVI.

Sweet love, renew thy force ; be it not said
Thy edge should blunter be than appetite,
Which but to-day by feeding is allay'd,
To-morrow sharpen'd in his former might :
So, love, be thou ; although to-day thou fill
Thy hungry eyes even till they wink with fulness,
To-morrow see again, and do not kill
The spirit of love with a perpetual dulness.
Let this sad interim like the ocean be
Which parts the shore, where two contracted new
Come daily to the banks, that, when they see
Return of love, more blest may be the view ;
Or call it winter, which, being full of care,
Makes summer's welcome thrice more wish'd, more rare.

SONNET LVII.

Being your slave, what should I do but tend
Upon the hours and times of your desire ?
I have no precious time at all to spend,
Nor services to do, till you require.
Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you,
Nor think the bitterness of absence sour
When you have bid your servant once adieu ;
Nor dare I question with my jealous thought
Where you may be, or your affairs suppose,
But, like a sad slave, stay and think of nought
Save, where you are how happy you make those.
So true a fool is love that in your will,
Though you do any thing, he thinks no ill.

But let sonnet 56 be followed by sonnets 97 and 98,
and again we see true sequential order :

SONNET LVI.

Sweet love, renew thy force ; be it not said
Thy edge should blunter be than appetite,
Which but to-day by feeding is allay'd,
To-morrow sharpen'd in his former might :

So, love, be thou ; although to-day thou fill
 Thy hungry eyes even till they wink with fulness,
 To-morrow see again, and do not kill
 The spirit of love with a perpetual dulness.
 Let this sad interim like the ocean be
 Which parts the shore, where two contracted new
 Come daily to the banks, that, when they see
 Return of love, more blest may be the view ;
 Or call it winter, which, being full of care,
 Makes summer's welcome thrice more wish'd, more rare.

SONNET XCVII.

How like a winter hath my absence been
 From thee, the pleasure of the fleeting year !
 What freezings have I felt, what dark days seen !
 What old December's bareness every where !
 And yet this time removed was summer's time ;
 The teeming autumn, big with rich increase,
 Bearing the wanton burthen of the prime,
 Like widowed wombs after their lords' decease :
 Yet this abundant issue seem'd to me
 But hope of orphans and unfather'd fruit ;
 For summer and his pleasures wait on thee,
 And, thou away, the very birds are mute ;
 Or, if they sing, 'tis with so dull a cheer
 That leaves look pale, dreading the winter's near.

SONNET XCVIII.

From you have I been absent in the spring,
 When proud-pied April, dress'd in all his trim,
 Hath put a spirit of youth in every thing,
 That heavy Saturn laugh'd and leap'd with him.
 Yet nor the lays of birds, nor the sweet smell
 Of different flowers in odour and in hue,
 Could make me any summer's story tell,
 Or from their proud lap pluck them where they grew :
 Nor did I wonder at the lily's white,
 Nor praise the deep vermilion in the rose ;
 They were but sweet, but figures of delight,
 Drawn after you, you pattern of all those.
 Yet seem'd it winter still, and, you away,
 As with your shadow I with these did play.

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I found many other instances of equal contextual incongruity, and became fairly sure of the following things : that many of the sonnets in Thorpe's arrangement are chronologically and sequentially misplaced ; that the whole body of Sonnets was written during a period of at least three years ; that part of them were to a man, and part of them to a woman, and in books or sequences of a specific and conventional number.

I reasoned that if the Sonnets were written in books or sequences, and at different times during a period of years, they were, in all probability, the same sonnets alluded to by Meres in 1598, as his " sugred sonnets among his private friends," and therefore, that at least those addressed to a man, though written to one person, were evidently passed among that person's friends to be read.

These books or sequences were in all likelihood manuscripts fastened together in some crude manner, probably either stitched or gummed. Seeing, then, that the Sonnets, though written in, and before, 1598, were not published until 1609, we may reasonably infer that these books or sequences in passing from hand to hand would become more or less disarranged, and it is also probable that some of them may have been of such an intimately personal nature that they would be removed by their owner and not allowed to circulate. It is also likely that in the numerous mischances that such manuscripts would meet in the long term of years which elapsed between their production and eventual publication, some of them would be lost. We know that between 1609, when they were first published, and 1640, when they were published by Benson, who evidently worked from an incomplete copy of the first issue, that eight of the sonnets were lost ; and had

no other copies of the first edition, besides that from which Benson worked, remained in existence, his edition would now be our sole authority. Had Benson possessed a complete copy of the earlier issue there is no tangible reason why he should have discarded the eight sonnets that are lacking in his publication.

It seems certain that Thorpe secured and worked from Shakespeare's original manuscripts. In arranging the Sonnets, even in their present disordered state, he showed that he recognised the fact that they were originally written to two people, by dividing them into two series, placing the twelve-line verses that are numbered 126 at the end of the first series ; but that his knowledge in making this division was not perfect is demonstrated by the fact that two sonnets, that are plainly to be identified with the series addressed to a man, are included in the latter group.

Though the Sonnets as a whole were probably disorganised in the manuscripts from which Thorpe worked, he apparently found several small sequences, and one fairly large sequence (1 to 17), in their original order.

In some instances where Thorpe found the sonnets disarranged and out of their sequential order he appears to have attempted to reproduce sequential continuity in his arrangement. That he succeeded fairly well in this is evidenced by the fact that the order he gave the Sonnets has remained almost unquestioned for three hundred years.

In placing the first seventeen sonnets in their present order, I believe that he did so because he found them already together in this order in the manuscripts. In placing this sequence as the earliest of the whole series he was undoubtedly correct, and was guided, either by

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extant knowledge of the object for which they were written, or by the internal evidence of the group, their tone being conventional and distant when compared with that of the later sonnets. The sixteenth sonnet proves the early date of this sequence in the expression "my pupil pen"; and the whole group lacks the facility of expression and maturity of thought of most of the later sonnets.

From the eighteenth sonnet onwards to the verses numbered 126, though two and three sonnets are often to be found in sequential order, and in one or two instances even five or six sonnets may be found rightly placed, the most palpable sequential and chronological disorder will become apparent in Thorpe's order when they are compared with the rearrangement in their original books.

Before attempting to arrange the sonnets in separate sequences I took two complete copies of them and removed the pages, each page containing a single sonnet; these I spread out in Thorpe's order—from 1 to 154. I then moved the loose pages here and there as I found true contexts. By degrees, as I worked the sonnets into contextual place, those numbered from 1 to 126 divided naturally into seven groups, displaying divergent moods quite distinct and readily distinguishable each from the others. Two or three of these groups are complete in twenty sonnet sequences; from this I infer that all of the sonnets were originally written in sequences of twenty,—a number frequently used by the sonneteers of that day,—and that where a book lacks this number, those lacking to make twenty are lost. Four of the groups lack one or two sonnets, and one lacks eight sonnets, for completion; this latter group, the third book, containing matter of a more private nature than any of the more complete sequences. From these

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seven groups I find in all thirteen sonnets missing. When the Sonnets are read in the new order I give them, with this fact borne in mind, I believe a new light and meaning will appear even to the most casual reader.

It is probable that sonnets numbered from 127 to 152 in Thorpe's arrangement are the small remains of what were originally at least two, and possibly three or four, twenty sonnet sequences written to Mistress Davenant. From this series, however, I remove the sonnets numbered 129 and 146 and place them in their true contexts in two of the sequences in the first series. I also remove the 21st sonnet from the larger series and place it in its true connection in the latter series.

Sonnet 145 is palpably not by Shakespeare.

The seven sequences, or *books*, into which I have restored the sonnets written to Southampton, and the chronological order I assign to them, shall, I believe, be found justified by their palpable sequential and contextual sense, when supported by the argument linking their successive periods of composition with the recorded facts of Shakespeare's and his patron's affairs in the same years.

It is now nearly twenty years since I succeeded in restoring the sonnets to their sequential groups; during these years I have examined them from time to time, letting intervals of from several months to a year or two elapse between each examination, in order to free my judgment from obsession or preconception regarding the order I had found for them. While I am now confirmed in my opinion that no sonnet is wrongly grouped, it is possible that the contextual order within the sequences may be bettered in the taste or opinion of individual students by the transposition of a sonnet here or there.

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To interested students of the Sonnets I would suggest that in considering these sequences, they first of all note very carefully the essential differences in theme, mood and literary power between each *book*, as well as the steady development shown as the years go by.

The first *book* is more or less conventional, and was evidently written at the instigation of Southampton's friends in order to forward his marriage to Elizabeth Vere. It shows little depth of feeling, and plainly echoes the theme of *Venus and Adonis*, which was written at the same period and with the same purpose.

In the second sequence the poet expresses his own feelings and writes of his own relations with his patron, which it appears are yet in a comparatively early stage. It is plainly evident that this *book* was written while Shakespeare travelled with his company in the provinces, and evidence is given to show that the travelling indicated was the disastrous tour of 1593 with the Earl of Pembroke's company.

The third *book* which is badly disrupted—eight of the twenty being lost—refers to Southampton's relations with the "dark lady"; the external and internal evidence for dating this group in 1593-4 is very plain.

The fourth sequence was written nearly a year later than the third; during this year Shakespeare has been busily engaged revising old and composing new plays for public, Court and private presentation by the Lord Chamberlain's company, in which he has become a sharer. The work of the past year has greatly developed his literary facility and poetic power. *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*, both composed at this time, display the exuberantly lyric stage he had now attained. This

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confident and joyous sequence which celebrates a restored friendship between Shakespeare and Southampton, after separation and estrangement, surpasses all of the other sequences in lyric beauty in much the same measure that the two plays composed in this year excel all the remainder of the plays in the same quality.

The fifth *book*, written in 1595, distinctly treats of the "rival poet," and while lacking the lyric exaltation of the preceding sequence, displays even more plainly the rhetorical mastery he had now acquired.

An abiding sense of apathy pervades the sixth *book*, which expresses the spiritual and mental state of the writer late in 1597—at the same period that *The Merchant of Venice* was composed. However conventional the expression or simulated the sentiment of other sequences may be, there is no conventionality or feigning here.

O what can ail thee, knight-at-arms,
Alone and palely loitering?
The sedge has wither'd from the lake,
And no birds sing.

I saw pale kings and princes too,
Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;
They cried—"La Belle Dame sans Merci
Hath thee in thrall!"

These verses of Keats epitomise the cause and spirit of the mood of this sequence; yet while it is evident that the poet is ill at ease with his conscience, and that a spiritual struggle is in process, one sonnet of the group presages victory.

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,
Starved by these rebel powers that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,
Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?

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Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend ?
Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge ? is this thy body's end ?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store ;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross ;
Within be fed, without be rich no more :
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

That the battle has been won, though not without cost, is evident in the seventh sequence, which is a trumpet blast to action, arousing his spirit from the remorseful lassitude in which it has lately been sunk through the dawning of a moral sense regarding the spiritually stultifying nature of his relations with the "dark lady." In a few of the sonnets of this sequence Shakespeare approaches near to the lyric excellence of the fourth *book*, and, in one or two of them, transcends all of the other sonnets in psychological analysis and spiritual insight. Since 1595 or 1596 he has "fought with beasts at Ephesus," and, though temporarily embittered, has been strengthened by the ordeal, but the lilt of springtime has gone from his verses with "the glory and the dream" from life, which henceforth takes on for him more sober colouring.

In the Sonnets—as Wordsworth with fine poetic insight recognised—we have the key to Shakespeare's heart, and in the successive sequences a running clue to guide us in judging of the manner in which he reflected his personal feelings, and the incidents and conditions of his life in the plays composed during the period in which the Sonnets were written.

As much of the argument in the following pages is devoted to clarifying the chronology of the plays of the

sonnet period, by the correlative evidence of the sonnet story, for the guidance of the reader I here append a list of those plays, co-ordinating their chronology—as I find it—with the chronology for the seven *books* of sonnets, written to the Earl of Southampton between 1592 and 1598; giving also the chronologies for the plays advanced by Sir Israel Gollancz, Mr. F. G. Fleay, the Rev. Henry Paine Stokes, and by The New Shakespeare Society. The differences between these several chronologies are not very great, and are usually to be accounted for by the later time revision of nearly all the plays of this period; a fact which Sir Israel Gollancz and Mr. Stokes have recognised in several instances.

The only plays of the sonnet period in which revision is not apparent are *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Henry IV., Part II.* This latter play having been published within about two years of its composition it is improbable that it was materially revised. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was probably never revised and may never have been presented upon a public stage. There is no record of its performance during Shakespeare's lifetime, and it appeared in print for the first time in the First Folio in 1623. It palpably reflects a crucial phase of the sonnet story, and was evidently written to influence Southampton, and may never have been presented, even privately, after the conditions it reflects had passed away.

Though Burbage's organisation differed from Henslowe's, in that Burbage had in his own ranks a capable playwright, while Henslowe had to purchase all of his plays from outsiders and to pay for revisions, we may infer that popular plays were kept before the public through revision by Burbage in the same manner as we find Henslowe doing

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by the evidence of his *Diary*, and though we possess no such definite record for Burbage's theatrical transactions, textual research has produced convincing evidence of much revision in Shakespeare's early plays. The development of the sonnet story will make it clear that Shakespeare indulged in revision in a much greater measure than has hitherto been recognised, and will also serve to settle the dates for many revisions.

The restoration of the sonnets to their original books, and chronological order enabling us to synchronise their dates with the plays produced at the same period, will be found to throw much new light upon Shakespeare's methods of revisionary work, to render more definite the chronology of the plays, and to place beyond question the fact that he makes free use of his own dramatic formula in holding "the mirror up to nature" in his plays.

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE PLAYS OF THE SONNET PERIOD ACCORDING TO

	ACHESON.	GOLLANCZ.	FLEAY.	STOKES.	NEW SHAKE- SPEARE SOCIETY.
<i>King John</i> . . .	1591 (E), 1596 (R)	1595	1595	1593-4	1595
<i>Comedy of Errors</i> .	1591 (L), 1594 (R)	1589-91	1592	1591	1589-91
<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	1592, 1595 (R) and 1598	1591-2	1599	1591-2	1588-9
<i>Venus and Adonis</i>	1592	...	...	...	...
<i>Love's Labour's Won (All's Well)</i>	1592, 1598 (R)	1602	1604	1604	1601-2
Sonnets, Book I. .	1592	...	...	...	...
<i>Richard II.</i> . .	1592-3, 1597 (R)	1592 (R)	1593	1593-4	1593-4
Sonnets, Book II. .	1593 (E)	...	...	...	...
<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	1593 (L)	1590-2	1594	1591-2	1590-2
<i>Lucrece</i> . . .	1593-4	...	...	...	...
Sonnets, Book III.	1593-4	...	...	...	...
<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	1594 (E), 1596 (R) and 1599	1593-5	1592	1595	1590-1
<i>Richard III.</i> .	1594, 1597 (R)	1594 (R)	1595	1593-4	1594
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> .	1591 (?), 1594, 1597 (R)	1593-5	1596	1591 (R)	1591-3
Sonnets, Book IV.	1594 (L)	...	...	...	...
Sonnets, Book V. .	1595	...	...	...	...
<i>Henry IV., Pt. I.</i> .	1594 (?), 1595 (R) and 1597	1596-8	1597	1597	1596-7
Sonnets, Book VI.	1597 (E)	...	...	...	...
<i>Merchant of Venice</i>	1597 (L)	1597	1596	1597-8	1596 (?)
<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	1596 (?), 1598 (E), 1602 (R) and 1609	1599 (R), 1602 and 1609	1594-5 (R), 1607	1593 (R), 1602	1590-2 (R), 1602-7
<i>Lover's Complaint.</i>	1598	...	...	...	...
<i>Henry IV., Pt. II.</i>	1598 (L)	1598-9	1598	1598	1597-8
Sonnets, Book VII.	1598 (L)	...	...	...	...

(E) . . . Early.

(L) . . . Late.

(R) . . . Revised.

(?) . . . An interrogation mark accompanying a date signifies a probable earlier form of a play which has been so obscured by later revisions that only slight traces of such an earlier date of composition remain in the play in its present form.

CHAPTER III

VENUS AND ADONIS AND THE FIRST BOOK OF SONNETS. 1592

*V*ENUS and *Adonis* was entered on the Stationers' Registers upon 18th April 1593, and published shortly afterwards by Richard Field, a fellow-townsmen of Shakespeare's with whom he probably went to school in Stratford. It was the most popular with contemporaries of all of Shakespeare's published books, running into seven editions in nine years. It was composed some time between the date of the Cowdray progress and the end of 1592.

From Shakespeare's day down to the present time certain critics have seen in *Venus and Adonis*, and its dedication to Southampton, merely a lascivious poem addressed to a somewhat wild and free-living young aristocrat, by Shakespeare, in the endeavour to secure patronage by suiting his subject to the supposed erotic inclinations of the patron he sought. It is evident that this was the opinion of several contemporary poets, who, though criticising Shakespeare and envious of his success, thereafter emulated the fashion they supposed he had set, by addressing verses to Southampton of a far less excusable nature. One, Thomas Nashe, following this cue, went to unquotable lengths, while the verbose and ponderous George Chapman,

whose mind and muse were quite unsuited to such exercises, shrouding himself in the mantle of Ovidius Naso, produced a couple of dull, prosy and very free paraphrases of two of that poet's broadest elegies. In a previous essay I have given my reasons for believing that these poems were first addressed to Southampton as a bid for patronage, and owing to Shakespeare's opposition that they were rejected. They were published later by Chapman and dedicated to his friend Matthew Roydon. Some latter-day critics take the same view as Chapman and Nashe, but being unable to reconcile the time-serving sycophancy and moral laxity of this view of our poet with the veiled, but none the less uncompromising, morality of his dramas, they dismiss the poem as of no biographical consequence, or impute its production to a period of, if not immoral, at least unmoral youth. When the facts of Southampton's life at this immediate period are borne in mind, it becomes evident that *Venus and Adonis* was not produced as a chance and dilettante poetical exercise, *but as a conscious, though veiled, attempt upon the part of Shakespeare to turn Southampton's thoughts to the union advocated by his friends and relatives, by inciting his mind to sexual and amatory considerations.* The effort being unsuccessful, he more openly displayed his intention in the first sonnet sequence a few months later.

If the sonnets urging Southampton to marriage were written by Shakespeare at the suggestion of Southampton's friends, it is apparent that the production of *Venus and Adonis* was the result of the same influences. It is evident that this poem preceded the earliest sonnet sequence in date of composition from the fact that Shakespeare, in the dedication to Southampton, distinctly names it "The first

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heir of my invention " ; yet the resemblance or sameness of the themes of the two poems, and the fact that they were both written for Southampton, *imply that Shakespeare's object in writing them was identical*. Southampton's mother, in answer to Burghley's inquiries relative to the proposed match, could report nothing more favourable than that her son " is not averse from it." That he had not grown any more enthusiastic after coming to London we may infer from the subject of Roger Manners' letter of 6th March 1592, and, at a still later date, Shakespeare's sonnets imply that Southampton still needed urging to the match.

The unnaturalness of the story of *Venus and Adonis*, as told by Shakespeare, has frequently been commented upon. It differs materially from the story in the 10th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from Golding's translation of which Shakespeare undoubtedly took his theme. In Ovid's poem, instead of a cold and diffident youth averse to Venus' blandishments we have presented a most complacent and responsive lover. The unabashed and openly displayed passion of a female for a reserved and diffident male, which Shakespeare gives us, differs so diametrically from his usually unerring psychology, that many writers have been led to date the production of this poem at a very early period of his life and previous to his departure from Stratford. A comparison of Shakespeare's dramas with their proved sources shows that he almost invariably follows the originals in plot and action, departing from them but occasionally and then usually only for greater dramatic verisimilitude. In a few glaring instances, however, he not only departs from his sources but, as in the present instance in *Venus and Adonis*, seems completely to ignore

psychological truth and to lapse in dramatic art. In all such cases, as well as in *Venus and Adonis*, it is evident that Shakespeare was influenced by an underlying subjective motive, or by personal experience. He himself at the age of eighteen married a woman of twenty-six—the marriage being one of necessity, as their first child was born six months after their betrothal. Taking the relative ages of the couple into consideration, may not a similar situation reasonably be apprehended in his own case? A sonnet which reproaches Southampton for, and at the same time palliates, his offence, bespeaks the wisdom of experience.

And when a woman woos what woman's son
Will sourly leave her till she have prevailed.

In the first sonnet sequence, which was produced shortly after *Venus and Adonis*, Shakespeare extols Southampton's beauty, urging him to perpetuate it by fruitful marriage; he also gently chides him for his neglect of the opposite sex, and in fact, in the picture he gives us of Southampton, paints a replica of the unconsciously pubescent and diffident Adonis.

Let us compare one or two of the sonnets with verses from *Venus and Adonis*, and the same intention in both poems becomes clear.

SONNET XIII—

O, that you were yourself! but, love, you are
No longer yours than you yourself here live:
Against this coming end you should prepare,
And your sweet semblance to some other give.
So should that beauty which you hold in lease
Find no determination; then you were
Yourself again, after yourself's decease,
When your sweet issue your sweet form should bear.

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Who lets so fair a house fall to decay,
Which husbandry in honour might uphold
Against the stormy gusts of winter's day
And barren rage of death's eternal cold ?

O, none but unthrifths ; dear my love, you know
You had a father ; let your son say so.

Venus and Adonis—

Torches are made to light, jewels to wear,
Dainties to taste, fresh beauty for the use,
Herbs for their smell, and sappy plants to bear ;
Things growing to themselves are growth's abuse ;
Seeds spring from seeds and beauty breedeth beauty ;
Thou wast begot ; to get it is thy duty.

SONNET IV—

Unthrifty loveliness, why dost thou spend
Upon thyself thy beauty's legacy ?
Nature's bequest gives nothing, but doth lend,
And being frank, she lends to those are free.
Then, Beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse
The bounteous largess given thee to give ?
Profitless usurer, why dost thou use
So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live ?
For having traffic with thyself alone,
Thou of thyself thy sweet self dost deceive.
Then how, when nature calls thee to be gone,
What acceptable audit canst thou leave ?

Thy unused beauty must be tomb'd with thee,
Which, used, lives th' executor to be.

Venus and Adonis—

Upon the earth's increase why shouldst thou feed,
Unless the earth with thy increase be fed ?
By law of nature thou art bound to breed,
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead ;
And so, in spite of death, thou dost survive,
In that thy likeness still is left alive.

It is evident that these poems were written at the same period and with an identical purpose. All Shakespearean

critics are agreed that Arthur Golding's translation of the 10th Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the basis of Shakespeare's poem. It has never before been suggested that the intention of this poem was to further Southampton's marriage to Elizabeth Vere, *nor has it been noticed in this connection that Arthur Golding was Elizabeth Vere's grand-uncle*, his sister being the Earl of Oxford's mother. Arthur Golding for years made his home with the Earl of Oxford's family in the capacity of preceptor and tutor. His translations would then naturally come to Southampton's notice, and through him to Shakespeare's cognizance. It is probable that Shakespeare made Golding's acquaintance at the time of the Cowdray progress.

The fact that Shakespeare in the first sonnet sequence urges marriage upon his young patron, and in doing so reinforces the suggestive purpose of *Venus and Adonis*, would imply that he did so at the instance or at least with the sanction and approval of Southampton's friends or relatives. It is quite unlikely that at this early stage of his acquaintance he would presume upon advice of such an intimately personal nature without some such authority.

There can be no doubt that the sonnets urging marriage were the earliest of the whole series; little trace of the intimate relations so plainly discernible in the later *books* are to be found in this sequence: we have further proof of their early date in the 16th sonnet, where Shakespeare mentions his "pupil pen." I therefore date the composition of *Venus and Adonis* and of the first *book* of sonnets *some time in the year between September 1591, when the Queen and Court were at Tichfield, and September 1592, when Southampton, after his return from France, accompanied the Court on a progress to Oxford and first made the acquaintance*

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of Mistress Davenant. Being written to the Earl of Southampton, one of these sonnets gives us absolute confirmation for this date. Southampton was born on 6th October 1573. In October 1592 he reached his nineteenth year, the *climax of his teens*. The fifth line of the 16th sonnet reads :

Now stand you *on the top* of happy hours.

What other meaning can we take from the words I have italicised ? Shakespeare does not use a phrase of this kind without a definite meaning.

I have not altered the sequential order given by Thorpe for this group, up to, and including, sonnet 17. The sonnets numbered by Thorpe as 18 and 19 belong to a maturer period of Shakespeare's development, and shall be found correctly placed, in the fourth *book* of sonnets, the composition of which I confidently date at the end of 1594. The sonnet numbered 20, in Thorpe's arrangement, is evidently either sonnet 18, 19 or 20 in the first *book*; and the two sonnets lacking, to make twenty, are now lost.

In the word "Hews" in the seventh line of the 20th sonnet, which I have placed as the concluding sonnet of the first *book*, Shakespeare intentionally anagrammatises the initials of Southampton's name and title *Henry Wriothesley Earl of Southampton*.

While the printer of the 1609 Quarto appears not to have adhered strictly to any rule for the use of italics, or for capitals inside the lines, he usually used either a capital or italics or both for the months of the year, the Seasons, animals, planets, foreign words and proper names. In the first *book* of sonnets he both capitalises and italicises the word "Hews"—for hues—while for its singular "hew" he does neither. This suggests that Thomas Thorpe was

cognizant of the identity of the person addressed and recognised Shakespeare's anagrammatic intention.

In several of the sonnets in later books, and also in *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare plays on the resemblance between the word "rose" and the pronunciation of the first syllable of Southampton's name Wriothesley (pronounced Rose-ley). While none of the numerous flowers mentioned in the Sonnets are dignified by capitalisation it is significant that the word *Rose*, which occurs only once in this book, is both capitalised and italicised.

That thereby beauty's *Rose* might never die.

In *Romeo and Juliet* the nurse recalls the fact that her mistress Juliet couples Romeo's name in some way with rosemary; her muddled memory fails her, yet she dimly remembers that some letter other than R is connected in her mistress' mind with the beginning of the name Romeo. There is nothing whatever suggestive of this in Bandello's novel nor in Brooke's translation, upon which Shakespeare based his play. It shall become evident, then, that the nurse's allusion is topical and that it refers to the silent W in the name Wriothesley when I have demonstrated that this play was written with the interests of the Earl of Southampton in mind.

Romeo and Juliet, Act II. Scene iv.—

NURSE. Doth not Rosemary and Romeo begin with a letter?

ROMEO. Ay, nurse; what of that? Both with an R.

NURSE. Ah, mocker! That's the dog's name; R is for the —no; I know it begins with some other letter—and she hath the prettiest sententious of it, of you and rosemary, that it would do you good to hear it.

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THE FIRST BOOK OF SONNETS (1591-2)

BOOK I. From fairest creatures we desire increase,
Sonnet i. That thereby beauty's *Rose* might never die,
But as the ripper should by time decease,
His tender heir might bear his memory :
But thou, contracted to thine own bright eyes,
Feed'st thy light's flame with self-substantial fuel,

(Thorpei.) Making a famine where abundance lies,
Thyself thy foe, to thy sweet self too cruel.
Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament
And only herald to the gaudy spring,
Within thine own bud buriest thy content
And, tender churl, makest waste in niggarding.
Pity the world, or else this glutton be,
To eat the world's due, by the grave and thee.

BOOK I. When forty winters shall besiege thy brow
Sonnet ii. And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
Thy youth's proud livery, so gazed on now,
Will be a tatter'd weed, of small worth held :
Then being ask'd where all thy beauty lies,
Where all the treasure of thy lusty days,
(Thorpe ii.) To say, within thine own deep-sunken eyes,
Were an all-eating shame and thriftless praise.
How much more praise deserved thy beauty's use,
If thou couldst answer " This fair child of mine
Shall sum my count and make my old excuse,"
Proving his beauty by succession thine !

This were to be new made when thou art old,
And see thy blood warm when thou feel'st it cold.

BOOK I. Look in thy glass, and tell the face thou viewest
 Sonnet iii. Now is the time that face should form another ;
 Whose fresh repair if now thou not renewest,
 Thou dost beguile the world, unbless some mother.
 For where is she so fair whose unear'd womb
 Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry ?

(Thorpe
 iii.) Or who is he so fond will be the tomb
 Of his self-love, to stop posterity ?
 Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee
 Calls back the lovely April of her prime :
 So thou through windows of thine age shalt see,
 Despite of wrinkles, this thy golden time.

But if thou live, remember'd not to be,
 Die single, and thine image dies with thee.

BOOK I. Unthrifty loveliness, why dost thou spend
 Sonnet iv. Upon thyself thy beauty's legacy ?
 Nature's bequest gives nothing, but doth lend,
 And being frank, she lends to those are free.
 Then, beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse
 The bounteous largess given thee to give ?

(Thorpe
 iv.) Profitless usurer, why dost thou use
 So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live ?
 For having traffic with thyself alone,
 Thou of thyself thy sweet self dost deceive.
 Then how, when nature calls thee to be gone,
 What acceptable audit canst thou leave ?

Thy unused beauty must be tomb'd with thee,
 Which, used, lives th' executor to be.

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Book I.
Sonnet v. Those hours that with gentle work did frame
The lovely gaze where every eye doth dwell,
Will play the tyrants to the very same
And that unfair which fairly doth excel :
For never-resting time leads summer on
To hideous winter and confounds him there ;
(Thorpe
v.) Sap check'd with frost and lusty leaves quite gone,
Beauty o'ersnow'd and bareness every where :
Then, were not summer's distillation left,
A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glass,
Beauty's effect with beauty were bereft,
Nor it, nor no remembrance what it was :
But flowers distill'd, though they with winter meet,
Leese but their show ; their substance still lives sweet.

Book I.
Sonnet vi. Then let not winter's ragged hand deface
In thee thy summer, ere thou be distill'd :
Make sweet some vial ; treasure thou some place
With beauty's treasure, ere it be self-kill'd.
That use is not forbidden usury,
Which happies those that pay the willing loan ;
(Thorpe
vi.) That's for thyself to breed another thee,
Or ten times happier, be it ten for one ;
Ten times thyself were happier than thou art,
If ten of thine ten times refigured thee :
Then what could death do, if thou shouldst depart,
Leaving thee living in posterity ?
Be not self-will'd, for thou art much too fair
To be death's conquest and make worms thine heir.

BOOK I. Lo, in the orient when the gracious light
 onnet vii. Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
 Doth homage to his new-appearing sight,
 Serving with looks his sacred majesty ;
 And having climb'd the steep-up heavenly hill,
 Resembling strong youth in his middle age,
 (Thorpe vii.) Yet mortal looks adore his beauty still,
 Attending on his golden pilgrimage ;
 But when from highmost pitch, with weary car,
 Like feeble age, he reeleth from the day,
 The eyes, 'fore duteous, now converted are
 From his low tract, and look another way :
 So thou, thyself out-going in thy noon,
 Unlook'd on diest, unless thou get a son.

BOOK I. Music to hear, why hear'st thou music sadly ?
 Sonnet viii. Sweets with sweets war not, joy delights in joy.
 Why lovest thou that which thou receivest not gladly,
 Or else receivest with pleasure thine annoy ?
 If the true concord of well tuned sounds,
 By unions married, do offend thine ear,
 (Thorpe viii.) They do but sweetly chide thee, who confounds
 In singleness the parts that thou shouldst bear.
 Mark how one string, sweet husband to another,
 Strikes each in each by mutual ordering ;
 Resembling sire and child and happy mother,
 Who, all in one, one pleasing note do sing :
 Whose speechless song, being many, seeming one,
 Sings this to thee : " Thou single wilt prove none."

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BOOK I. Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye
Sonnet ix. That thou consumest thyself in single life ?
Ah ! if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
The world will wail thee, like a makeless wife ;
The world will be thy widow, and still weep
That thou no form of thee hast left behind,
(Thorpe ix.) When every private widow well may keep
By children's eyes her husband's shape in mind.
Look, what an unthrift in the world doth spend
Shifts but his place, for still the world enjoys it ;
But beauty's waste hath in the world an end,
And kept unused, the user so destroys it.
No love toward others in that bosom sits
That on himself such murderous shame commits.

BOOK I. For shame ! deny that thou bear'st love to any,
Sonnet x. Who for thyself art so unprovident.
Grant, if thou wilt, thou art beloved of many,
But that thou none lovest is most evident ;
For thou art so possess'd with murderous hate
That 'gainst thyself thou stick'st not to conspire,
(Thorpe x.) Seeking that beauteous roof to ruinate
Which to repair should be thy chief desire.
O, change thy thought, that I may change my mind !
Shall hate be fairer lodged than gentle love ?
Be, as thy presence is, gracious and kind,
Or to thyself at least kind-hearted prove :
Make thee another self, for love of me,
That beauty still may live in thine or thee.

THE FIRST BOOK OF SONNETS 65

Book I. As fast as thou shalt wane, so fast thou grow'st
Sonnet xi. In one of thine, from that which thou departest ;
 And that fresh blood which youngly thou bestow'st
 Thou mayst call thine when thou from youth convertest.
 Herein lives wisdom, beauty and increase ;
 Without this, folly, age and cold decay :
 (Thorpe xi.) If all were minded so, the times should cease
 And threescore year would make the world away.
 Let those whom Nature hath not made for store,
 Harsh, featureless and rude, barrenly perish :
 Look, whom she best endow'd she gave the more ;
 Which bounteous gift thou shouldst in bounty cherish :
 She carved thee for her seal, and meant thereby
 Thou shouldst print more, not let that copy die.

Book I. When I do count the clock that tells the time,
Sonnet xii. And see the brave day sunk in hideous night ;
 When I behold the violet past prime,
 And sable curls all silver'd o'er with white ;
 When lofty trees I see barren of leaves,
 Which erst from heat did canopy the herd,
 (Thorpe xiii.) And summer's green all girded up in sheaves,
 Borne on the bier with white and bristly beard,
 Then of thy beauty do I question make,
 That thou among the wastes of time must go,
 Since sweets and beauties do themselves forsake
 And die as fast as they see others grow ;
 And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence
 Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence.

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BOOK I. O, that you were yourself ! but, love, you are
Sonnet No longer yours than you yourself here live :
xiii. Against this coming end you should prepare,
And your sweet semblance to some other give.
So should that beauty which you hold in lease
Find no determination ; then you were
(Thorpe Yourself again, after yourself's decease,
xiii.) When your sweet issue your sweet form should bear.
Who lets so fair a house fall to decay,
Which husbandry in honour might uphold
Against the stormy gusts of winter's day
And barren rage of death's eternal cold ?
O, none but unthrifths : dear my love, you know
You had a father ; let your son say so.

BOOK I. Not from the stars do I my judgment pluck ;
Sonnet And yet methinks I have astronomy,
xiv. But not to tell of good or evil luck,
Of plagues, of dearths, or seasons' quality ;
Nor can I fortune to brief minutes tell,
(Thorpe Pointing to each his thunder, rain and wind,
xiv.) Or say with princes if it shall go well,
By oft predict that I in heaven find :
But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive,
And, constant stars, in them I read such art,
As truth and beauty shall together thrive,
If from thyself to store thou wouldst convert ;
Or else of thee this I prognosticate :
Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date.

Book I. When I consider everything that grows
 Sonnet xv. Holds in perfection but a little moment,
 That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows
 Whereon the stars in secret influence comment ;
 When I perceive that men as plants increase,
 Cheered and check'd even by the self-same sky,
 (Thorpe xv.) Vaunt in their youthful sap, at height decrease,
 And wear their brave state out of memory ;
 Then the conceit of this inconstant stay
 Sets you most rich in youth before my sight,
 Where wasteful Time debateth with Decay,
 To change your day of youth to sullied night ;
 And all in war with Time for love of you,
 As he takes from you, I engraft you new.

Book I. But wherefore do not you a mightier way
 Sonnet xvi. Make war upon this bloody tyrant, Time ?
 And fortify yourself in your decay
 With means more blessed than my barren rhyme ?
 Now stand you on the top of happy hours,
 And many maiden gardens, yet unset,
 (Thorpe xvi.) With virtuous wish would bear your living flowers
 Much liker than your painted counterfeit :
 So should the lines of life that life repair,
 Which this, Time's pencil, or my pupil pen,
 Neither in inward worth nor outward fair,
 Can make you live yourself in eyes of men.
 To give away yourself keeps yourself still ;
 And you must live, drawn by your own sweet skill.

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BOOK I.
Sonnet
xvii.

Who will believe my verse in time to come,
If it were fill'd with your most high deserts ?
Though yet, heaven knows, it is but as a tomb
Which hides your life and shows not half your parts.
If I could write the beauty of your eyes
And in fresh numbers number all your graces,
The age to come would say " This poet lies ;
Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces."'
So should my papers, yellowed with their age,
Be scorn'd, like old men of less truth than tongue,
And your true rights be term'd a poet's rage
And stretched metre of an antique song :
But were some child of yours alive that time,
You should live twice, in it and in my rhyme.

(Thorpe
xvii.)

BOOK I.
Sonnet
xviii.

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted
Hast thou, the master-mistress of my passion ;
A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted
With shifting change, as is false women's fashion ;
An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,
Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth ;
A man in hue, all " hues " in his controlling,
Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.
And for a woman wert thou first created ;
Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting,
And by addition me of thee defeated,
By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.

(Thorpe
xx.)

But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,
Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

CHAPTER IV

SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORK AT THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND BOOK OF SONNETS. 1592-3

THE gratuitous assumption that Shakespeare left Burbage and the Theatre along with Lord Strange's men in 1591-2 and joined Henslowe at the Rose Theatre, continuing under his financial management until the return of the company to Burbage in 1594, is responsible for most of the ambiguity that still exists regarding Shakespeare's exact connection with the authorship or revision of *The Contention and True Tragedy*, the *Three Parts of Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus*.

The acceptance or tolerance of this assumption by former students has made it impossible for them to account logically for Shakespeare's evident connection with Marlowe during these years, and for the fact that the Earl of Pembroke's company, for which Marlowe wrote at this period, owned and produced the *True Tragedy of the Duke of York* at about, or shortly before, the time that Robert Greene made his splenetic attack upon Shakespeare and indicated him by parodying a line from that play ; of which no record or mention exists in the *Diary* of Henslowe, with whom Shakespeare is assumed to have been then working.

An important London company, however, must have produced the plays of Shakespeare between 1591 and

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1594, which are : *King John*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Love's Labour's Won*, *Richard II.*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* ; possibly *Henry IV.* (in an early form), *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet* ; yet no mention of any of these plays appears in Henslowe's *Diary*, which is evidently a comprehensive record of his theatrical affairs during these years.

Certain plays, such as *The Taming of a Shrew* and *Hamlet*, which were owned by Burbage's organisation as early as 1589,¹ do not appear in Henslowe's records until June 1594, when they were presented at Newington Butts by the Lord Chamberlain's men, who, however, were then leaving Henslowe and who were rejoined by Shakespeare at this time. This makes it probable that these plays were owned and played by a company with which Shakespeare was connected between 1591 and 1594, and that they were now brought back with other properties to his old associates.

The London company next in importance to the Chamberlain-Admiral's combination between 1591 and 1594 was the Earl of Pembroke's company. This is evident in the facts that Marlowe wrote for it and that it was the only other company that performed at Court during these years, with the exception of the single final performance of the old Queen's company in the Christmas season of 1591.

That Christopher Marlowe wrote for the Earl of Pembroke's company during these years we have evidence in a statement on the title-page of the Quarto of *Edward II.* Robert Greene at this same time indicates Shakespeare's connection with Pembroke's company as a managerial player by parodying a line from *The True Tragedy*—which

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London.* Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

was one of its properties—alluding to him as “the onlie Shakescene.”

When Pembroke’s players returned from their unprofitable provincial tour in August 1593, and are reported by Henslowe in a letter to Alleyn as having had to “pawn their apparel for their charges,” George Chapman, whom I have already displayed and shall further exhibit as Shakespeare’s chief and most persistent detractor amongst the “university pens,” wrote a play—which he later revised and published under the title of *Histrionomastix*—satirising Shakespeare and the misfortunes of his company, as revealed in Henslowe’s letter, exhibiting the players as pawning their apparel for their charges.¹

These facts, with further evidence to follow, and the entire absence of any conflicting evidence other than assumption, dicta, or opinion, are the grounds for my belief that Shakespeare, under Burbage’s auspices, formed Pembroke’s company in 1591 and became for about three years its manager and its principal producer of plays.

The Earl of Pembroke’s company was organised some time before 6th February 1592, when Strange’s company opened under Henslowe at the Rose Theatre. This organisation evidently took place early in 1591, and at about the same time that Lord Strange’s company left Burbage for Henslowe. Being a Burbage organisation this company was intended primarily for London performances, and to supply the place of Strange’s company at the Theatre, or at the Crosskeys, where Burbage’s company played in the winter-time. Between the time of its formation and the end of 1591, the Shoreditch Theatre being in litigation and in the hands of the Court, it per-

¹ *Shakespeare’s Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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formed in the City at the Crosskeys. The title-page of *Edward II.* reads : " as it was sundrie times publicly acted in the honourable citie of London by the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke his servants." On 22nd June 1592 all London theatres were closed by order of the Council. Some time later in the year Pembroke's company made a short provincial tour, returning to London before 29th December, upon which date it performed before the Queen and Court. As all the London theatres were closed from 22nd June 1592 until 29th December, *any notices of or references to performances by Pembroke's company in London this year must necessarily refer to a period antedating 22nd June.* As Lord Strange's company secured permission to reopen at the Rose for public performances upon 29th December we may infer that the restraint was also lifted for the other London companies, including Pembroke's, which latter was now in favour with the authorities, as it performed again before the Court on 6th January 1593. It is evident then that it also performed publicly in London between 29th December 1592 and 1st February 1593 ; all the theatres being again closed on the latter date on account of the plague.

As Robert Greene died in September 1592, his attack upon Shakespeare in *A Groatsworth of Wit* must have referred to London performances by Pembroke's company, under Shakespeare, of an earlier form of *Henry VI., Part III.* some time before 22nd June 1592 ; and as the line that Greene parodied, by changing the word "woman's" into "player's,"

O tyger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide,

appears in *The True Tragedy of the Duke of York*, as well as in the *Third Part of Henry VI.*—both of which plays give

palpable evidence of having been revised by Marlowe and Shakespeare—Greene's reference was evidently to the first revision of *The True Tragedy*, in the original composition of which he probably had a hand. The first Quarto of this play, which was published in 1595, records on the title-page that it was "sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke his servants."

At the same time that Greene alludes critically to the production of *The True Tragedy* by Shakespeare and Pembroke's company, *i.e.* in 1592 before 22nd June, his friend Nashe in *Pierce Pennilesse* commends Peele's revision and the production of *Henry VI.* by Lord Strange's company under Alleyn and Henslowe. This play was first produced in its new form on 3rd March 1592, and was presented fifteen times between that date and 22nd June, when the theatres were closed. Nashe refers to it in about the middle of its run, as he mentions "ten thousand spectators at least (at several times)" who had witnessed its performances. It is palpable then that Greene's scurrilous allusion to the production of *The True Tragedy* by Pembroke's company, and Nashe's complimentary reference to the production of *Henry VI.* by Strange's company at exactly the same period, cannot both allude to Shakespeare, especially in view of the fact that Nashe and Greene had both been critical of Shakespeare and complimentary to Peele for the past three years. There can be no doubt however that Greene's allusion was to Shakespeare.

The originals of the *Three Parts of Henry VI.* were evidently old Queen's plays which were brought to Strange's and Pembroke's companies by Queen's men who joined them in 1591, or which were retained by Henslowe, with other of this company's properties, for debts due him

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when they separated in 1591; *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* being sold to Pembroke's men, and *Henry VI.* to Strange's men. Shakespeare and Marlowe, who wrote for Burbage and Pembroke's men, revised *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*; and Peele, who wrote for Alleyn and Henslowe, revised the old *Henry VI.* External evidence then indicates that it was Peele's, and not Shakespeare's, revisionary work in *Henry VI.* that was commended by Nashe in this year. Later on we will consider the internal evidence.

The *First Part of the Contention*, published in 1594, and *The True Tragedy of the Duke of York*, published in 1595, are evidently the forms of these plays that were presented by Pembroke's company in 1592-4, and that were revised into this form by Marlowe and Shakespeare from older plays brought to them by Queen's men in 1591. Most of the revisions in these plays were made by Marlowe, as there are numerous passages in them practically identical with passages in Marlowe's *Edward II.*, which was composed for Pembroke's company at this period; yet a number of significant passages are plainly traces of Shakespeare's early work upon them.

In the *Third Part of Henry VI.*, which is generally supposed to be Shakespeare's revision, or Shakespeare's and Marlowe's revision, of *The True Tragedy*, there are thirty-eight classical allusions, of which twenty-four are in passages which do not appear in *The True Tragedy* and which have been supposed to have been additions to the play made by Shakespeare when he is thought to have revised *The True Tragedy* into the later form of *Henry VI., Part III.* When we remember, however, that in Shakespeare's original plays composed at this period the classical

allusions average only from three to five in each, it becomes evident that most of the alleged added passages to *Henry VI., Parts II. and III.*, are portions of the original plays cancelled from the acting copy by Marlowe and Shakespeare—and at times replaced by other passages, which also still appear—and that these deleted passages were restored to the Folio versions by their compilers, who in 1623 were probably ignorant of the fact that they had been deleted by Marlowe and Shakespeare in their revisions.

In addition to these haphazard restorations by the compilers the *Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.* evidently also contain some small revisionary portions added by Shakespeare in, or after, 1594, when he rejoined Burbage and all *Three Parts* of the play had become the Lord Chamberlain's company's properties. He added the Temple Garden scene and probably a few other passages to the *First Part of Henry VI.* at this time, his object being to give consecutive historical interest and motive to the whole series by the theme of the Wars of the Roses.

Only the *First Part of Henry VI.* has come down to us in the form in which Shakespeare left it ; the *Second and Third Parts* plainly retain many passages by the original composers which Shakespeare or Marlowe intended to delete, as such passages were at times substituted by others, which also still appear. This was probably due to the desire of the compilers of the First Folio to let nothing perish that they thought was Shakespeare's. It is palpable, for instance, that the last twenty-four lines of the following passage from Act I. Scene i. of *Henry VI., Part II.*, were intended to take the place of, and not to supplement, the first twenty-two lines : it is equally plain that the former lines with their absurd classical allusions are not by Shake-

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speare, and evident that the latter are his early work on the play, and that they were used here, as was the Temple Garden scene in the *First Part of Henry VI.*, to give consecutive dramatic motive to the action of the historical series connected with the Wars of the Roses and ending with *Richard III.*; all of which were now Burbage properties. We have also in this passage a good example of the manner in which Shakespeare eliminated irrelevant classical allusions in his revision of work by other hands, as well as of the nonsensical use made of their classical knowledge by the "gentlemen scholars."

In the first twenty-two lines quoted below which do not appear in *The True Tragedy*, but which I argue are a portion of the older play of which *The True Tragedy* is a recension, no dramatic motive is displayed; while in the second twenty-four lines quoted, with the raising aloft of "the milk-white rose," we have a definite dramatic keynote to the action of all of the future plays of the series, and a palpable backward link in the Rose motive of the Temple Garden scene, which all commentators admit to be the one unquestionably Shakespearean scene in the *First Part of Henry VI.*, and which the present evidence makes clear could not have been added to the play by Shakespeare until 1594, when it became a Burbage property.

Henry VI., Part II., Act I. Scene i.—

YORK. Anjou and Maine are given to the French;
Paris is lost; the state of Normandy
Stands on a tickle point, now they are gone:
Suffolk concluded on the articles,
The peers agreed, and Henry was well pleased
To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter.
I cannot blame them all: what is't to them?
'Tis thine they give away, and not their own.

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Pirates may make cheap pennyworths of their pillage,
 And purchase friends and give to courtezans,
 Still revelling like lords till all be gone ;
 While as the silly owner of the goods
 Weeps over them and wrings his hapless hands,
 And shakes his head and trembling stands aloof,
 While all is shared and all is borne away,
 Ready to starve and dare not touch his own :
 So York must sit and fret and bite his tongue,
 While his own lands are bargain'd for and sold.
 Methinks the realms of England, France and Ireland
 Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood
 As did the fatal brand Althæa burn'd
 Unto the prince's heart of Calydon.

It is very evident that the following lines were intended to supersede and not to amplify those quoted above :

Anjou and Maine both given unto the French !
 Cold news for me, for I had hope of France,
 Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
 A day will come when York shall claim his own ;
 And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts
 And make a show of love to proud Duke Humphrey,
 And, when I spy advantage, claim the crown,
 For that's the golden mark I seek to hit :
 Nor shall proud Lancaster usurp my right,
 Nor hold the sceptre in his childish fist,
 Nor wear the diadem upon his head,
 Whose church-like humours fits not for a crown.
 Then, York, be still awhile, till time do serve :
 Watch thou and wake when others be asleep,
 To pry into the secrets of the state ;
 Till Henry, surfeiting in joys of love,
 With his new bride and England's dear-bought queen,
 And Humphrey with the peers be fall'n ajars :
 Then will I raise aloft the milk-white rose,
 With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed ;
 And in my standard bear the arms of York,
 To grapple with the house of Lancaster ;
 And, force perforce, I'll make him yield the crown,
 Whose bookish rule hath pull'd fair England down.

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An analysis of Henslowe's *Diary* in conjunction with the Stationers' Registers shows that the date of the publication of a play which shortly afterwards continued upon the boards as a new play and at times under a new name, usually marks the period of its rewriting or revision, the published play being the outworn version. It appears that in a measure this applies also to plays owned by Burbage other than Shakespeare's, his early plays apparently not as a rule being published until they had outlived their vogue and after repeated revisions, and even then they were at times revised years afterwards, or used for occasional or private presentations.

In *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London* I have argued that Shakespeare composed his version of *King John* in 1591 at the instigation of a factional party opposed to Sir Christopher Hatton and friendly to his victim, Sir John Perrot, who in this year was sent to the Tower and in the following year tried for and convicted of high treason, its purpose being to reflect Perrot as Falconbridge in heroic colours. *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* was published in 1591, and apparently after Shakespeare's revision had been made, to replace it as a company property. It appears probable then that *King John* was one of the plays performed by Pembroke's men in London during the preceding and the early part of this year. The rather drastic revision of this play in about 1596 has led some text critics incorrectly to date its original composition between 1594 and 1596.

The Troublesome Raigne of King John, which was the basis of Shakespeare's *King John*, was also an old Queen's play which was either brought to Pembroke's men in 1591 by discarded Queen's men who helped to form this new

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company, or else was purchased with other Queen's plays from Henslowe, who had retained them for debt upon the disruption of this company and their loss of Court favour at this time.

It was to Shakespeare's early dramatic efforts in purchasing the reversion of such old plays as *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*, *Henry VI.*, *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*, and recasting or revising them for the use of his company that Ben Jonson disparagingly referred in later years, when Shakespeare's dramatic leadership was generally acknowledged. In his attack upon Shakespeare, in the verses entitled *On Poet-Ape*, he writes :

Poor Poet-Ape that would be thought our chief

At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
Buy the reversion of old plays, now grown
To a little wealth and credit in the scene
He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own
And told of this, he slights it.

Love's Labour's Lost was evidently one of the plays performed at Court during the Christmas festivities of 1592 ; it is possible that it was never presented upon the public boards in its earliest form, and even in its later forms it was not a play that was likely to appeal to the taste of the masses.

Many of Shakespeare's plays, especially his early plays such as *Love's Labour's Won*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*, were written primarily for Court or private presentation, and not for the public boards. Most of these plays were afterwards revised and enlarged for

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public presentation ; while some may never have been presented upon a public stage during Shakespeare's lifetime.

Few, if any, of Shakespeare's plays have come down to us in their original forms, practically all of them giving textual evidence of extensive revision or revisions. Most of these revisions were made by Shakespeare, but in a few instances, especially of plays that held the stage when he retired from active work, they were made by other writers, who treated his plays with much the same freedom that he had formerly treated those of his predecessors owned by his employers. As the plays were regarded as theatrical property once they were purchased from their authors, such revision of plays by others was regarded as perfectly legitimate, and was indulged in by all the writers of the period who were fortunate enough to secure such work from the theatrical managers.

All of the early plays of the sonnet period were revised by Shakespeare with the possible exception of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and some of them upon more than one occasion. As practically all of these plays may be shown to hold an underlying personal or topical interest connected, sympathetically, in some manner with the affairs of the Earl of Southampton or with the political faction with which he was affiliated, and are therefore in a measure subconsciously autobiographical, these revisions—while confusing the merely textual evidences of their chronological order—tend often to reinforce or clarify their personal and historical significance. I have already instanced this in the case of *Henry IV., Part I.*, and *Love's Labour's Won*, showing the link of interest in the continuity of characterisation from Parolles to Falstaff,

and the change in the characterisation of the Hostess in *Henry IV., Part II.*¹

The acceptance and application of the subjective theory I here advance will, I believe, enable us to perfect the chronology of the original composition of the plays produced between 1591 and 1601, as well as definitely to indicate their periods of revision.

I have shown that the Earl of Southampton left England for France shortly after the Queen's progress to Cowdray and Titchfield House in September 1591, and have given my reasons for believing that John Florio accompanied him in the capacity of bear-leader at this time. I cannot learn the exact date of their return, which, however, was some time before September 1592, when Southampton went with the Queen and Court on the progress to Oxford, where Florio evidently accompanied him and, if Shakespeare's suspicions and inferences in *Love's Labour's Won* reflect the actual facts, brought him in contact for the first time with Mistress Anne Davenant, the hostess of the Tavern adjoining the Crosse Inn, whom I shall later demonstrate beyond question to have been the "dark lady" of the triangular embroglio of the Sonnets. This, however, was only an inceptive stage of the relations between Southampton and the "dark lady" complained of by Shakespeare in the Sonnets, and inferred or reflected in the admonitory spirit of *Lucrece*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the King and Countess act of *Edward III.* and *The First Part of Henry IV.*—in its original form—all of which work was produced from a year to eighteen months after Southampton's first visit to Oxford in September 1592. It is evident then that Southampton's relations with the

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London.* Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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"dark lady" inferentially depicted in these plays, and definitely complained of in the third *book* of sonnets, subsisted some time during this period, and that Southampton returned to Oxford in 1593—probably at the time that the plague was prevalent in London. *Willobie his Avisa*, which satirically reflects and distorts the same conditions, though not published until September 1594, was written earlier in the year and, as was then customary, was no doubt read in MS. for some time before its publication.

In the autumn of 1592, however, Shakespeare was aware of the fact that Southampton and Florio had made the acquaintance of this woman, and reflected his opinion of Florio's pernicious influence upon Southampton in the composition of *Love's Labour's Won*, which portrayed Southampton as Bertram and Florio as Parolles.

It is impossible now to tell definitely in what way *Love's Labour's Won* differed from its revised version of *All's Well that Ends Well*, but enough of the older play remains to allow some comparison of its formed comedy and lightness with its present semi-tragic intensity of feeling. Our recognition of the differing conditions, incidents and personalities reflected at the two periods of composition will give us some new light regarding its earlier form.

As Southampton was as yet—at least to Shakespeare's knowledge—unentangled with the "dark lady" when *Love's Labour's Won* was written, we may infer that the Bertram then portrayed was shown in much brighter colours than the Bertram of *All's Well that Ends Well*; where he appears in a far from favourable light. In 1592 he was evidently shown as rising superior to the influence

of Parolles but yet as likely to be contaminated by him. Some early lines in the third *book* of sonnets—which was completed late in 1593, or early in 1594, though evidently written at intervals through the preceding year—reveal Shakespeare's fears.

Thou hast pass'd by the ambush of young days,
 Either not assail'd, or victor being charged ;
 Yet this thy praise cannot be so thy praise,
 To tie up envy evermore enlarged :
 If some suspect of ill mask'd not thy show,
 Then thou alone kingdoms of hearts shouldst owe.

The Parolles of *Love's Labour's Won*, while no doubt represented as a loose companion for Bertram, was also less fully developed than the Parolles of *All's Well that Ends Well* ; probably approximating in a measure to the trifling Armado of *Love's Labour's Lost*, who also reflects Florio at this period. In the revisions of *Love's Labour's Lost* the characterisation of Armado was evidently little changed.

The Helena of *Love's Labour's Won* was probably not very definitely characterised, being more or less of a lay figure ; inferentially representing as she did Burghley's granddaughter, Elizabeth Vere, who does not seem to have aroused much enthusiasm in Shakespeare, and with whom he probably never came in personal contact. His advocacy of Southampton's marriage to her was done to order, being always rather perfunctory in spirit. Elizabeth Vere is also the somewhat featureless Helena of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which I shall demonstrate was written early in 1594, when Southampton's relations with the hostess of the Crosse Inn Tavern had reached a more advanced stage, the vivacious and "starry-eyed" Hermia inferentially reflecting her more captivating personality.

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The Helena of *All's Well that Ends Well* is, however, a very different woman from the Helena of the early form of the play, and had in Elizabeth Vernon a much more interesting prototype. For this lady, whom Shakespeare must have known well and who was fully cognizant of his close relations with Southampton, Shakespeare's sympathy and admiration were aroused to the highest pitch. His sympathetic portrayal of Helena, who has been called "Shakespeare's noblest woman," clearly reflected his high regard for her original. In his advocacy of her interests in 1598, when Southampton had apparently abandoned her while he himself ran wild in Paris, Shakespeare does not hesitate bitterly to castigate his patron in his development of the degenerating Bertram. It shall be made evident that this same lady is by inference the Juliet of *Romeo and Juliet*, the Portia of *The Merchant of Venice*, and the distressed and forsaken heroine of *A Lover's Complaint*; while Southampton is the unfaithful Proteus of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Prince Hal of *Henry IV.* and Demetrius of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, during his entanglement with the "dark lady," but after he meets and falls in love with Elizabeth Vernon he becomes, in successive stages, the love-enraptured Romeo of 1594, the self-absorbed Bassanio of 1597, the recreant lover of *A Lover's Complaint*, and the selfish Bertram of *All's Well that Ends Well* in 1598. After this date, which ends the sonnet period, Shakespeare's interest in Southampton and his affairs broadens in scope, becoming less personal and more involved with the fortunes of his political faction.

Returning to a consideration of Shakespeare's activities in 1592: either towards the end of this or early in the

following year, and before his departure for the provinces on his last and unprofitable provincial tour with Pembroke's men, Shakespeare composed *Richard II.* My reasons for giving so definite a date for the composition of this play are the facts that the second *book* of sonnets—which I confidently date early in 1593 and after Shakespeare had started on his provincial tour—parallels it in spirit and phrase. *Richard II.* was evidently one of the plays presented by Pembroke's company late in 1592 or early in 1593, in London, and also in the provinces in the latter year, while Shakespeare was composing the second and third *books* of sonnets; its lines therefore would naturally be fresh in his mind. In the early *Histrionastix*, which was written by Chapman in 1593 after Pembroke's company had returned from their unprofitable tour and before they were permitted to perform again publicly in London, Chapman shows knowledge of *Richard II.*, and practically reproduces some of its phrases. There were no public performances in London between 1st February and 29th December 1593; consequently Chapman's knowledge of this play must have been gained before the former date.

Richard II. also links itself with *Love's Labour's Won* by inferentially reflecting Southampton's connection with Florio in the stultifying relations between the youthful Richard and his favourites. In the time of *Richard II.* Italian influence upon English society was practically non-existent. In 1593, and for many years before and later, Italian manners and fashions held strong sway over the tastes of English society. It was largely to this fact that Florio owed the social recognition he received from the younger gentry of the time. Shakespeare had Florio and

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Southampton in mind when he composed the following lines :

GAUNT. Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear,
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.

YORK. No ; it is stopp'd with other flattering sounds,
As praises, of whose taste the wise are fond,
Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound
The open ear of youth doth always listen ;
Report of fashions in proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation.

Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity—
So it be new, there's no respect how vile—

That is not quickly buzz'd into his ears ?

Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,
Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.

Direct not him whose way himself will choose :

'Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt thou lose.

In *Histriomastix*, Chapman, or a collaborator, in the following lines—which plainly pertain to the earlier form of the play with Southampton as Mavortius, Florio as the Italian lord, Landulpho, and Shakespeare as the poet-actor, Postehaste—reflects Florio's connection with Southampton at this period, as well as the Italian's adversely critical attitude towards English historical drama as represented by Shakespeare's early historical work.

Postehaste with Sir Oliver Owlet's players having presented *The Prodigal Child* (*Love's Labour's Won*) before Mavortius and his friends, boasts of his facility in making extempore verses and asks to be given a theme, and being given one, recites verses supposed to have been composed offhand, when Mavortius dismisses him and his players and asks Landulpho's opinion of the song.

MAVOR. Give them forty pence, let them go.

How likes Landulpho this extempore song ?

- LAND. I blush in your behalves at this base trash.
 In honour of our Italy we sport
 As if a synod of the holy Gods,
 Came to triumph within our Theatres—
 (Always commending English courtesie)
 Are not your Dames of sharper spirit?
 I have a mistresse whose intangling wit,
 Will turne and winde more cunning arguments
 Than could the *Craetan Labyrinth* ingyre.
 (Always commending English courtesie.)
- MAVOR. Good sir, you give our English Ladyes cause
 Respectively to applaud th' Italian guise,
 Which proudly hence-forth we will prosecute.
- LAND. Command what fashion Italy affords.
- PHIL. By'r Lady sir, I like not of this pride.
 Give me the ancient hospitality:
 They say, Tis merry in hall, when beards wag all.
 The Italian Lord is an Asse: the song is a good
 song.

This passage re-echoes the praise of Italian, and dispraise of English, drama voiced by Florio in 1591, in his *Second Fruites*, which, while dedicated by Florio to his former patron, Nicholas Saunder of Ewell, was evidently finished and published after he entered Southampton's pay and patronage, some time before April 1591; his dedication to Saunder being dated in that month and year. The conversation between Mavortius (Southampton) and the Italian lord, Landulpho (Florio), regarding plays was evidently intended by Chapman to reflect the conversation between the two characters in the *Second Fruites* named Henry and John, which, with Falstaffian assurance, Florio uses as representing himself and the Earl of Southampton.

While it is likely that Chapman had collaborators in this anti-Shakespearean play in 1593, as well as in its revision in 1598-9, when Marston joined him against Shakespeare and his allies, Dekker and Chettle, the Chrisoganus

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passages are all palpably his own. In the following lines :

CHRIS. Now is the time wherein a melting eye
May spend itself in teares, and with salt drops
Write woe and desolation in the dust,
Upon the frighted bosom of the land.

Chapman shows acquaintance with *Richard II.* ; they palpably paraphrase :

K. RICH. Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs ;
Make dust our paper and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.

Again he reflects the spirit of this speech of Richard's :

K. RICH. Let's choose executors and talk of wills :
And yet not so, for what can we bequeath
Save our deposed bodies to the ground ?
Our lands, our lives and all are Bolingbroke's,
And nothing can we call our own but death,
And that small model of the barren earth
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.
For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings.

Histrionmastix, Act IV.—

VEL. Come let us sit and mourne with sad laments
And heavy burdens of our discontents.
LYON. To waile our want let speaking slacke the paine,
For words of griefe divide the griefe in twaine.
VEL. Our Shops (sometimes) were stuf with cloath of gold,
But *Warre* hath emptied them, and Spyders build
Their Cob-web-tents, weaving foule dusty lawne
For poore woe-working *Poverty* to weare.
FOUR. O woes ! behold our poore distressed wives.

While Shakespearean text critics in their recognition of Marlowe's influence upon Shakespeare's early historical work adumbrated the fact of a close connection between them, the exact nature and period of this connection has

not before been known. It was not until Edward Alleyn's dominating influence was removed from the Theatre that Shakespeare and Marlowe were brought into intimate contact. Between the end of 1590 and July 1593, in which month Marlowe was killed, they evidently came closely in touch in their theatrical and dramatic relations. Marlowe composed *Edward II.* for Pembroke's company at about the same period that Shakespeare composed *Richard II.* It is apparent that these were two of the plays presented by Pembroke's company in 1593.

While Marlowe's influence upon Shakespeare has been frequently discussed by critics, Shakespeare's reciprocal influence upon Marlowe has not been noticed. Had Marlowe lived and continued to write for a few years more this phase of their connection would probably have become very apparent. In the composition of his last play, *Edward II.*—which reflects Shakespeare's influence upon him as clearly as his influence is anywhere reflected in Shakespeare—Marlowe had travelled far from the grandiloquence and fustian of *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*. These were the type of plays in which the youthful Edward Alleyn delighted, and in writing them Marlowe suited himself to the histrionic taste and methods of this popular Roscius, "whose deserved reputation," writes Nashe in 1589—and referring to the remainder of Strange's company—"is of force to enrich a rabble of counterfeits." Shakespeare's standing in the Burbage organisation, when Alleyn laid the foundation of his reputation in plays of this nature, was comparatively limited. He was then still a "hired servant," while Alleyn was one of the leading sharers and, as Nashe calls him, the company's "Cæsar." Towards the end of the seven years' union between Burbage

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and the Admiral's men Shakespeare's influence undoubtedly increased ; this is shown by the attitude of Greene and Nashe between 1589-91 ; yet he must have been handicapped—in his endeavours to promote more natural and less stagey productions—by the cruder dramatic taste, and the desire to dominate the action, of this ambitious actor-manager. It was probably impossible for Shakespeare and Alleyn to work together much longer, and their separation in 1591-2 was no doubt in a measure due to their divergent dramatic points of view.

While Shakespeare never became, and probably never aspired to become, a great actor or to compete with Edward Alleyn and Richard Burbage in this capacity, his judgment of the manner in which plays should be interpreted in action, and the parts relatively developed or subordinated to the concrete conception of the dramatist, was naturally better than that of either of these men. The lifelong friendship of Richard Burbage and Shakespeare must have been largely due to their compatibility of temper, and it is probable that Richard Burbage's distinction as an actor was to some extent the result of Shakespeare's guidance and advice. It is evident that Shakespeare in turn found in Burbage a more artistic and plastic nature than in Edward Alleyn, and that he was consequently enabled to secure through the acting of the former a more satisfactory expression of the spirit of his dramatic creations. The steadily maintained connection and friendly co-operation between these two great artists and gentle-natured men must, in an unusual degree, have enhanced their effectiveness and developed a mutual esteem. It is probable that Burbage's son, who was born after Shakespeare's death, but in the same year, was named after his dead friend, who

had remembered him in his will by the gift of a memorial ring. Three years later, when Burbage died, the Earl of Pembroke, in a letter to the English Ambassador in Germany, writes: "My Lord of Lenox made a great supper to the French Ambassador this night here and even now all the company are at the play, which I, being tender-hearted, could not endure to see so soone after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbage."¹ Both Burbage and Shakespeare evidently possessed the capacity for friendship in a high degree as well as the power of stimulating it in others.

At the time of Richard Burbage's death his reputation stood so high that he was even credited with having made Shakespeare famous. There can be little doubt, however, that it was a fortunate day for the Burbage family when the Stratford youth became a servitor to James Burbage, who, having been for years the leader of a theatrical company patronised by Lord Burghley's principal political opponent, cannot, in the nature of things, have been regarded with favour by either Burghley or his factional adherents. It is likely that Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels, had Burghley's support in swinging Strange's company to Henslowe and away from Burbage in 1591, and that Tilney found in Henslowe a more worldly-wise and tractable tool for his own particular purposes than in the high-spirited and independent James Burbage. It was clearly Shakespeare's growing dramatic reputation, coupled with the social countenance and financial help of his patron, the Earl of Southampton, that restored the Burbage organisation to the Court favour and popular leadership

¹ *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, page 117. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes. London, 1913.

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hey had temporarily lost. Lacking Shakespeare's help and influence at this period it is probable that Edward Alleyn and the Admiral's men would have permanently absorbed the decaying Burbage interests.

It is not likely that it was solicitude for the welfare of Shakespeare and Pembroke's company that inspired Edward Alleyn's inquiry of Henslowe, in 1593, regarding their progress and whereabouts, nor that Henslowe's answer, in which he reported that they had to "pawn their apparell for their charges," was actuated by commiseration for their misfortunes. That Henslowe highly valued his connection with Strange's men is apparent in his letters to Alleyn, while he and the company were on their travels in 1593. It is likely that their return to Burbage in 1594, through Shakespeare's assistance, was regarded by Henslowe and Alleyn as a setback in their affairs and by the Burbages as a restoration of their prestige.

While Marlowe's reputation now looms larger than that of any of his dramatic contemporaries, with the exception of Shakespeare, from 1588 until the time of his death in 1593, he was belittled and defamed by the same clique of "Gentlemen-scholars" who abused Shakespeare, praised Alleyn and, at the same time, lauded Peele to the skies. Nashe styles the latter "the chief supporter of pleasaunce now living, the atlas of poetry, and *primus verborum artifex*," while Marlowe is scurrilously referred to by Greene as "the cobbler" and "the athiest Tam-burlaine."

The reputation built by Peele's current work and enhanced by the praise of the scholars, impressed Edward Alleyn, as it was intended to do, who made use of his services for Lord Strange's company between 1589 and 1592, and,

after Strange's men, under his leadership, separated from Burbage in the latter year, continued to use him as the principal writer and reviser for Henslowe's organisation. The majority of the plays marked "ne" by Henslowe in his *Diary* between 1592—when Strange's men began to play under his financial management—and the time of the severance of their connection with him early in 1594, *were written or revised by Peele*. The first play entered as new in the *Diary* is *Henry VI*. From Nashe's mention of it in *Pierce Pennilesse*, we are assured that it was much the same play as that now known as *Henry VI., Part I*. His laudatory reference to the Talbot scenes was intended as a compliment to Peele, whom Nashe never mentions without praise. The second play mentioned as "ne" in the *Diary*—*Titus and Vespasian*—is not now in existence in its English form, though Dutch and German translations which still survive give us some idea of the play, which, like *Henry VI.*, was evidently also only a revision of a still older play. After being presented ten times at the Rose it disappears, reappearing a year later as *Titus Andronicus*, in which form it was bought for the Earl of Sussex's company by Henslowe as a new play.

Henslowe's *Diary* is a rather cryptical document and his book-keeping strange and wonderful. When he started his accounts in 1592 with Lord Strange's men at the Rose, nearly all new plays show receipts of from three pounds four to three pounds sixteen and eightpence. Critics have supposed that these large amounts represented his share of enlarged door receipts, resulting from the fact of the play being new. I offer the opinions that such entries represent not only his regular share of the receipts, but also a first payment of from about two pounds to two

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pounds ten on the purchase price of the new play, and that the whole purchase price was liquidated by stipulated additions to his regular receipts through several of its early presentations. Unless Henslowe was financially interested beyond his usual share of the day's receipts there is no reason why he should record a play as new. His *Diary*, though the most important contemporary theatrical document we possess, was not intended for the information of posterity but as a personal record of his own business transactions.

Titus Andronicus is palpably by Peele and, if so, it is fair to assume that *Titus and Vespasian* was also his work ; though it is probable that even this play was merely a revision of one still older. As Edward Alleyn's old Worcester and Admiral associates—Robert Brown and Richard Jones—left for the Continent in 1592 to perform in Holland and Germany, it is probable that they took with them a copy of *Titus and Vespasian*, or else of the play upon which this version was founded. Alleyn sold a number of his old plays, *i.e.* Admiral's and Strange's plays, to Jones, as several of them were published for him between 1590–4. There is good evidence in the *Diary*, and in Alleyn's papers, of Alleyn's and Henslowe's friendly relations with Jones, who, in 1594, rejoined their membership.¹ As Jones and Brown visited and performed in both Holland and Germany, the translations of *Titus and Vespasian* which have survived in both countries are evidently from a copy of a play they took with them to the Continent.

When Sussex's men came to play under Henslowe at

¹ Jones was also a friend of Nashe's, whose *Pierce Pennilesse* he issued in 1592.

the Rose, at the end of 1593, and continued to play there until 6th February 1594; and while they played under him again, in combination with the Queen's men, from the 1st to the 8th of April, it is evident that these were trial performances and that a reorganisation of companies was then in process. Henslowe and Alleyn were selecting men for the new Admiral's company in anticipation of the severance of their relations with the Lord Chamberlain's men, who were also at this time reinforcing their company by selections from Sussex's and Pembroke's men, both of which companies now submerged their identities as independent organisations. As some of Pembroke's men went to Alleyn and Henslowe it is likely that some Sussex men joined the Lord Chamberlain's company, becoming affiliated for a time during the process of reorganisation with the portion of Pembroke's men who later joined the Chamberlain's company. The last independent performance of Sussex's men was on 6th February 1594, and on this date *Titus Andronicus* was entered on the Stationers' Registers; yet at this time it had been performed only upon three occasions. Sussex's men had purchased it as a new play only two weeks before the date of its entry. On the 5th of June 1594 we find it in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain's men when they performed alternately with the Admiral's men at Newington Butts for ten days. The performances of this play by Pembroke's and Derby's men—recorded on the title-page—must then have been given some time between 6th February and 5th June 1594, and the play, though entered on the Stationers' Registers in February, was evidently not published until later in the year and after Pembroke's and the Chamberlain's men had presented it several times.

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Titus Andronicus is utterly unlike any of Shakespeare's acknowledged work and palpably displays the hand of Peele. The only reasons that exist for connecting Shakespeare with the revision or composition of a play of this title are the facts that Meres, in 1598, mentions it as one of Shakespeare's plays, and that it is included in the First Folio. The play we now possess is plainly the play acted by Sussex's company and bought for them by Henslowe as a new play in January 1594. Peele was the principal writer and reviser for Henslowe at this time. A comparison of this play with Peele's poems and his other authentic plays produced at about this period, very clearly reveals a common authorship.

Titus Andronicus contains eighty-one classical allusions and eleven Latin quotations, in both of which Peele indulged freely and Shakespeare in a very limited measure—the average number of classical allusions in his acknowledged plays of this period being from three to six, and these of a very simple nature. In *Richard II.*, composed in the year preceding the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*, there are only three classical allusions; and he has not used eleven Latin quotations in any half-dozen of his authentic productions of this period. In *Love's Labour's Lost* the little latinity he indulges in is of a satirical nature, ridiculing the scholasticism of Chapman and his friends. I doubt that there is a single line by Shakespeare in either the Quarto or Folio editions of *Titus Andronicus*. If Shakespeare ever recast this play, which I strongly question—Meres' mention of it to the contrary notwithstanding—his version is now lost.

The few passages in *Titus Andronicus* which have been selected by critics as being suggestive of Shakespeare's

work are probably portions of Peele's latest work on the play. No writer of that period approached nearer to Shakespeare's limpidity of diction than Peele. It is only, however, in the poetic melody of his lines that Peele resembles Shakespeare. He had little or no sense of characterisation, and his later style became vitiated by the necessity of providing blood and thunder fustian for Edward Alleyn.¹ In the construction of plays, however, he was, at this time, a much more experienced hand than Shakespeare, and in this phase of his work the greater dramatist did not disdain to follow his lead at times.

Peele was never provident, and lived a dissipated life, dying at about the age of forty. He squandered his wife's property within a few years of his marriage and, like Greene, who in *A Groatsworth of Wit* exhorts him to mend his ways, "had been driven to hard shifts for a living." He took little pride in the dramatic work he produced for the public theatres, regarding such plays merely as pot-boilers. Most of the work he did for Henslowe and Alleyn, between 1592 and 1595, was in revamping old plays, the titles of which he generally changed in the revision.

Titus Andronicus was recast from *Titus and Vespasian* by Peele between 25th January 1593—when the latter play was presented for the tenth and last time by the Lord Chamberlain's men at the Rose Theatre—and 23rd January 1594, when the former was presented by Sussex's men as a new play, at the same theatre. In this same year, and after 26th June 1593, Peele composed his *Honour of the Garter*, celebrating an installation of the Garter held at that

¹ The inflated grandiloquence of Marlowe's earlier plays was probably in a measure due to his desire to suit Alleyn's histrionic methods. After Alleyn and the Admiral's men left Burbage, Marlowe's dramatic style became more restrained.

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date. During this same period, or shortly afterwards, and while the poem he had recently written was fresh in his mind, he also recast *Titus and Vespasian* into *Titus Andronicus*, interlarding the revision liberally with passages and imagery from his *Honour of the Garter*. The following parallels between *Titus Andronicus* and *The Honour of the Garter* have been called to my attention by Mr. Charles Crawford, who, however, differs with me in my ascription of the play to Peele by maintaining Shakespeare's authorship. While I have the sincerest admiration for Mr. Crawford's textual work, I contend that textual criticism of plays composed by or attributed to Shakespeare before 1594, however good, is rendered indicatively compassless and rudderless by the prevailing ignorance of Shakespeare's social, literary and dramatic affiliations and development during his first eight years in London. Mr. Crawford has done and is doing most necessary and excellent textual research, but like the majority of the best text critics is handicapped at times in his conclusions by his reliance upon the letter and his neglect of the spirit, as well as of his neglect of contemporary history. In the light I have already thrown upon the theatrical affiliations of Peele and Shakespeare from 1589 to 1594, and upon their respective methods of work, it is very palpable that the following passages from *The Honour of the Garter* and *Titus Andronicus* are from the same pen :

Titus Andronicus—

*Hail Rome, victorious in thy mourning weeds !
Lo ! as the bark that hath discharg'd her fraught,
Returns with precious lading to the bay,
Cometh Andronicus, bound with laurel boughs,
To re-salute his country with his tears ;
Tears of true joy for his return to Rome,*

Honour of the Garter—

Hail Windsor! where I sometime took delight
 In my return from France, . . .
 Lo, from the *House of Fame*, with princely trains
 Accompanied, and Kings, and conquerors,
 And Knights of proof, loyal and valourous,
 I *re-salute* thee here, . . .

Titus Andronicus—

The *emperor's court* is like the *House of Fame*,
 The palace full of *tongues*, of *eyes*, of *ears*.

Honour of the Garter—

Fame in a stole of purple set with eyes
 And *ears and tongues*, carried a golden book. . . .
 Yet in the *House of Fame*, and *courts of Kings*. . . .

Titus Andronicus—

Titus Andronicus, the people of Rome,
 Whose friend in justice thou hast ever been,
 Send thee by me, their tribune, and their trust,
 This *palliamment of white and spotless hue*.

Honour of the Garter—

A goodly King in robes most richly dight,
 The upper like a Roman *palliamment* . . .
 O sacred loyalty . . . thy *weeds of spotless white*,
 Like those that stood for Rome's great offices.

Titus Andronicus—

I tell you, younglings, not *Enceladus*, . . .
 Nor great Alcides, nor the god of war, . . .

Honour of the Garter—

. . . as if the god of war . . .
 Had been in arms against *Enceladus*.

Titus Andronicus—

The imperial seat, to *virtue consecrate*.

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Honour of the Garter—

In deeds to fame and *virtue* consecrate.

Titus Andronicus—

He lives in fame that died in *virtue's* cause.

Honour of the Garter—

Thy forwardness to follow *virtue's* cause.

Titus Andronicus—

Safe out of *Fortune's* shot, and sits aloft,
Advanc'd above pale *Envy's* threat'ning reach.

Honour of the Garter—

Survive and triumph in eternity,
Out of *Oblivion's* reach or *Envy's* shot.

Titus Andronicus—

Romans, of five-and-twenty valiant sons,
Half of the number that *King Priam* had.

Honour of the Garter—

Thrice noble lord, as happy for his few,
As was the *King of Troy* for many more.

Titus Andronicus—

And her to whom my thoughts are humbled all,
Gracious *Lavinia*, Rome's *rich ornament*.

Honour of the Garter (Prologue)—

And clothest *Mathesis* in *rich ornaments*.

Nothing has done so much to obscure a true realisation of the inception and development of Shakespeare's work as the ascription of the three parts of *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus* to his hand. The inclusion of these plays among Shakespeare's published works tends to distract

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the perception and involve the judgment of even those critics who fully recognise the fallacy of their ascription to him.

Though the London theatres were closed on 1st February 1593, it is not likely that Pembroke's company went into the country until April or May. From the fact that Lord Strange's company began their provincial travels early in May, we may assume that Pembroke's company started at about the same time. The provincial records which survive show that they visited Coventry, York, Shrewsbury, Ludlow and Bath in this year. They returned to London in August, being forced to sell a portion of their theatrical apparel to pay their expenses.

Shakespeare composed his second *book* of sonnets to the Earl of Southampton while on his travels in this year, beginning it at about the time he started from London and finishing it before his return. The last sonnet in the sequence shows that the *book* was sent to his patron from a distance. A comparison of the poetical inferiority of these verses with the assured power and masterly rhetoric of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh *books* plainly indicates an earlier period of composition. The matter and spirit of the second *book* reveal also an early stage in Shakespeare's relations with his patron, as well as the fact that its period of composition shortly antedates that of the sonnets concerning Southampton's relations with the "dark lady," which on very specific evidence I place late in 1593, or early in 1594, as the third *book*. The last five sonnets in the present *book*, however, evince Shakespeare's fears that all is not well. He is evidently troubled regarding Florio's influence upon Southampton and seems to anticipate the revelations of the third *book*. The first two lines of the

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concluding sonnet of this *book* are re-echoed in the *Lucrece* dedication, which was written shortly afterwards.

Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage
Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit.

The *Lucrece* dedication reads: "The warrant I have of your honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutored lines, makes it assured of acceptance."

This is the only one of the seven sonnet sequences written to the Earl of Southampton which gives evidence of having been written while Shakespeare travelled in the provinces.¹ The opening lines of the first sonnet in the sequence show that it was begun shortly after he left London with his company:

How heavy do I journey on the way,
When what I seek, my weary travel's end,
Doth teach that ease and that repose to say,
"Thus far the miles are measured from thy friend."

That the journey was not one of Shakespeare's periodical visits to Stratford, and that it lasted for a prolonged period, is indicated in several of the later sonnets of the *book*. In the third sonnet he writes:

I must attend time's leisure with my moan.

In the eighth:

Since I left you mine eye is in my mind,
And that which governs me to go about.

He ends the thirteenth sonnet with the lines:

All days are nights to see till I see thee,
And nights bright days when dreams do show thee me.

¹ The only other prolonged provincial tour made during the sonnet period by a company with which Shakespeare was connected was that of the Lord Chamberlain's company in 1597. It shall become very evident that this *book* of sonnets antedates that year, and consequently palpably pertains to 1593 and the tour with Pembroke's company.

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He begins the fourteenth sonnet with an expression which shows that he is travelling upon professional business and not for pleasure :

Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed,
The dear repose for limbs with travel tired.

These conditions as well as the continuation of his travels are shown again in the fifteenth sonnet of the *book* :

How can I then return in happy plight,
That am debarr'd the benefit of rest.
When day's oppression is not eased by night,
But day by night, and night by day, oppress'd ?
And each, though enemies to either's reign,
Do in consent shake hands to torture me ;
The one by toil, the other to complain
How far I toil, still farther off from thee.

The comparatively early stage of the friendship at the time this *book* was written is palpable in the diffidence of tone when compared with the pleasurable assurance of the fourth *book*, which I will show was written at the end of 1594, and after Southampton had accepted *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and had rewarded Shakespeare in a manner sufficiently liberal to enable him to become a leading sharer in the most important company of players in London.

The inceptive stage of their relations while this *book* was written may be implied also from the tone of its concluding sonnet, which epitomises the spirit of the whole sequence.

Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage
Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit,
To thee I send this written ambassage,
To witness duty, not to show my wit :
Duty so great, which wit so poor as mine
May make seem bare, in wanting words to show it,
But that I hope some good conceit of thine
In thy soul's thought, all naked, will bestow it ;

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Till whatsoever star that guides my moving,
Points on me graciously with fair aspect,
And puts apparel on my tatter'd loving,
To show me worthy of thy sweet respect :

Then may I dare to boast how I do love thee :
Till then not show my head where thou mayst prove me.

The second *book* of sonnets was evidently written early in 1593, and before Shakespeare returned to London with Pembroke's men after their unprofitable travels. The third *book* of sonnets was commenced after his return and finished early in 1594. During this period of travel Pembroke's company among their plays performed *Richard II.* The tone of sentimental melancholy which pervades this play is also very apparent in the second *book* of sonnets. The dialogue between Gaunt and Bolingbroke regarding the banishment of the latter reflects the same dejected spirit expressed by Shakespeare in person concerning his own self-imposed exile from London and his patron.

Richard II., Act I. Scene iii.—

- AUM. Cousin, farewell : what presence must not know,
 From where you do remain let paper show.
MAR. My lord, no leave take I ; for I will ride,
 As far as land will let me, by your side.
GAUNT. O, to what purpose dost thou hoard thy words,
 That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends ?
BOLING. I have too few to take my leave of you,
 When the tongue's office should be prodigal
 To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.
GAUNT. Thy grief is but thy absence for a time.
BOLING. Joy absent, grief is present for that time.
GAUNT. What is six winters ? they are quickly gone.
BOLING. To men in joy ; but grief makes one hour ten.
GAUNT. Call it a travel that thou takest for pleasure.
BOLING. My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,
 Which finds it an enforced pilgrimage.

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- GAUNT. The sullen passage of thy weary steps
Esteem as foil wherein thou art to set
The precious jewel of thy home return.
- BOLING. Nay, rather, every tedious stride I make
Will but remember me what a deal of world
I wander from the jewels that I love.
Must I not serve a long apprenticeship
To foreign passages, and in the end,
Having my freedom, boast of nothing else
But that I was a journeyman to grief?
- GAUNT. All places that the eye of heaven visits
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.
Teach thy necessity to reason thus ;
There is no virtue like necessity.
Think not the king did banish thee,
But thou the king. Woe doth the heavier sit,
Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour
And not the king exiled thee ; or suppose
Devouring pestilence hangs in the air
And thou art flying to a fresher clime :
Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it
To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou comest :
Suppose the singing birds musicians,
The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strew'd,
The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more
Than a delightful measure or a dance ;
For gnarling sorrow hath less power to bite
The man that mocks at it and sets it light.
- BOLING. O, who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus ?
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite
By bare imagination of a feast ?
Or wallow naked in December snow
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat ?
O, no ! the apprehension of the good
Gives but the greater feeling to the worse :
Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle more
Than when it bites, but lanceth not the sore.

While *Richard II.* was rewritten for publication in 1597, and many of the unrhymed passages plainly pertain

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to the period of revision, all of the rhymed passages may safely be imputed to the original form of the play. The following lines—

Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly—

are expanded in the following sonnet from the third *book* :

Full many a glorious morning have I seen
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy ;
Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
With ugly rack on his celestial face,
And from the forlorn world his visage hide,
Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace :
Even so my sun one early morn did shine
With all-triumphant splendour on my brow ;
But, out, alack ! he was but one hour mine,
The region cloud hath masked him from me now.
Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth ;
Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth.

This same idea is again expressed in *Richard II.*, Act III.
Scene iii. :

BOLING. See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,
As doth the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident.

The imagery of jewels in barred and guarded chests in sonnets 18 and 19 of the second *book*, is also reflected several times in *Richard II.* :

How careful was I, when I took my way,
Each trifle under truest bars to thrust,
That to my use it might unused stay
From hands of falsehood, in sure wards of trust !

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But thou, to whom my jewels trifles are,
Most worthy comfort, now my greatest grief,
Thou best of dearest and mine only care,
Art left the prey of every vulgar thief.
Thee have I not lock'd up in any chest,
Save where thou art not, though I feel thou art,
Within the gentle closure of my breast,
From whence at pleasure thou mayst come and part ;
And even thence thou wilt be stol'n, I fear,
For truth proves thievish for a prize so dear.

So am I as the rich, whose blessed key
Can bring him to his sweet up-locked treasure,
The which he will not every hour survey,
For blunting the fine point of seldom pleasure.
Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare,
Since, seldom coming, in the long year set,
Like stones of worth they thinly placed are,
Or captain jewels in the carcanet.
So is the time that keeps you as my chest,
Or as the wardrobe which the robe doth hide,
To make some special instant special blest,
By new unfolding his imprison'd pride.
Blessed are you, whose worthiness gives scope,
Being had, to triumph, being lack'd, to hope.

Richard II., Act I. Scene i.—

A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest
Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.

Act I. Scene iii.—

I wander from the jewels that I love.
The precious jewel of thy home return.

Seeing that Shakespeare and his company were forced
into the provinces by the plague in London, Gaunt's lines—

. . . or suppose
Devouring pestilence hangs in the air
And thou art flying to a fresher clime—

take on a marked significance.

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From these and other considerations, which I shall develop later, I date the composition of the complete twenty-sonnet sequence which follows—and which I number as the second *book* of the series of seven—between about April or May 1593 and August or September in the same year. The third *book*, of which only twelve of the original sequence of twenty now survive, I date between August or September 1593 and before May 1594. In the following chapter I will develop the evidence upon which I base my chronology for these latter sonnets and for the plays which, upon subjective evidence, I impute to the same period.

If the interested reader will carefully compare the evident sense and contextual coherence that the order in which I place these verses restores to them as a sequential entity, with the palpable lack of these qualities in Thorpe's plainly disordered arrangement, and will bear in mind the fact that Shakespeare twice refers to his Sonnets as being written in "books," his interest may be enhanced in the restoration of the *books* that are to follow, as well as in the collateral subjective meaning which their restored form and chronological order may give to Shakespeare's dramatic work produced at their progressive periods of composition. Here is a complete twenty-sonnet sequence, the beginning and ending palpable in the sense of the verses, and sonnet leading to sonnet with perfect contextual continuity.

In Thorpe's order six couples from this book—50 and 51, 44 and 45, 30 and 31, 113 and 114, 46 and 47, 27 and 28—are correctly placed in their relations to each other yet incorrectly placed in relation to their other contexts. It is probable that in these six instances Thorpe found each couple written upon one piece of paper, or if on different

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sheets upon sheets attached in pairs. The remaining eight sonnets—39, 24, 43, 61, 75, 48, 52 and 26—which in Thorpe's order show no contextual links, read logically into the contexts now given them.

The disorder exhibited in Thorpe's arrangement is made very palpable by a comparison with their present sequence. No. 1 is 50, 2 is 51, 3 is 44, 4 is 45, 5 is 30, 6 is 31, 7 is 39, 8 is 113, 9 is 114, 10 is 24, 11 is 46, 12 is 47, 13 is 43, 14 is 27, 15 is 28, 16 is 61, 17 is 75, 18 is 48, 19 is 52, 20 is 26.

The reader who is already very conversant with Shakespeare's Sonnets, in order to follow the narrative, may possibly wish to pass on to the next chapter without carefully reading each *book* of sonnets in their new order ; while those who do not know or care for the Sonnets are still more likely to do so. To those who desire to comprehend the deep and absorbing affection of Shakespeare for his friend and patron I suggest that they regard and read each book of sonnets as an individual poem written in twenty verses. In this way each book will readily become differentiated as each expresses a different theme and mood. In the changing mood of each book, written under the stimulus of differing conditions and circumstances during seven years, we are afforded revelatory glimpses into the heart of Shakespeare which should enable us to read the plays produced at the same periods with a greatly enhanced sense of intimacy and fellowship with their creator.

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BOOK II. How heavy do I journey on the way,
Sonnet i. When what I seek, my weary travel's end,
Doth teach that ease and that repose to say,
" Thus far the miles are measured from thy friend ! "
The beast that bears me, tired with my woe,
Plods dully on, to bear that weight in me,
(Thorpe l.) As if by some instinct the wretch did know
His rider loved not speed, being made from thee :
The bloody spur cannot provoke him on
That sometimes anger thrusts into his hide ;
Which heavily he answers with a groan,
More sharp to me than spurring to his side ;
For that same groan doth put this in my mind ;
My grief lies onward, and my joy behind.

BOOK II. Thus can my love excuse the slow offence
Sonnet ii. Of my dull bearer when from thee I speed :
From where thou art why should I haste me thence ?
Till I return, of posting is no need.
O, what excuse will my poor beast then find,
When swift extremity can seem but slow ?
(Thorpe ii.) Then should I spur, though mounted on the wind,
In winged speed no motion shall I know :
Then can no horse with my desire keep pace ;
Therefore desire, of perfect'st love being made,
Shall neigh—no dull flesh—in his fiery race ;
But love, for love, thus shall excuse my jade ;
Since from thee going he went wilful-slow,
Towards thee I'll run and give him leave to go.

BOOK II. If the dull substance of my flesh were thought,
 Sonnet iii. Injurious distance should not stop my way ;
 For then, despite of space, I would be brought,
 From limits far remote, where thou dost stay.
 No matter then although my foot did stand
 Upon the farthest earth removed from thee ;
 (Thorpe For nimble thought can jump both sea and land,
 xlv.) As soon as think the place where he would be.
 But, ah, thought kills me, that I am not thought,
 To leap large lengths of miles when thou art gone,
 But that, so much of earth and water wrought,
 I must attend time's leisure with my moan ;
 Receiving nought by elements so slow
 But heavy tears, badges of either's woe.

BOOK II. The other two, slight air and purging fire,
 Sonnet iv. Are both with thee, wherever I abide ;
 The first my thought, the other my desire,
 These present-absent with swift motion slide.
 For when these quicker elements are gone
 In tender embassy of love to thee,
 (Thorpe My life, being made of four, with two alone
 xlv.) Sinks down to death, oppress'd with melancholy ;
 Until life's composition be recured
 By those swift messengers return'd from thee,
 Who even but now come back again, assured
 Of thy fair health, recounting it to me :
 This told, I joy ; but then no longer glad,
 I send them back again, and straight grow sad.

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Book II. When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
Sonnet v. I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought,
And with old woes new wail my dear time's waste :
Then can I drown an eye, unused to flow,
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night,
(Thorpe And weep afresh love's long since cancell'd woe,
xxx.) And moan the expense of many a vanish'd sight :
Then can I grieve at grievances foregone,
And heavily from woe to woe tell o'er
The sad account of fore-bemoaned moan,
Which I new pay as if not paid before.
But if the while I think on thee, dear friend,
All losses are restored and sorrows end.

Book II. Thy bosom is endeared with all hearts,
Sonnet vi. Which I by lacking have supposed dead ;
And there reigns love, and all love's loving parts,
And all those friends which I thought buried.
How many a holy and obsequious tear
Hath dear religious love stol'n from mine eye,
(Thorpe As interest of the dead, which now appear
xxxi.) But things removed that hidden in thee lie !
Thou art the grave where buried love doth live,
Hung with the trophies of my lovers gone,
Who all their parts of me to thee did give :
That due of many now is thine alone :
Their images I loved I view in thee,
And thou, all they, hast all the all of me.

BOOK II. O, how thy worth with manners may I sing,
 sonnet vii. When thou art all the better part of me ?
 What can mine own praise to mine own self bring ?
 And what is't but mine own when I praise thee ?
 Even for this let us divided live,
 And our dear love lose name of single one,
 (Thorpe That by this separation I may give
 xxxix.) That due to thee which thou deservest alone.
 O absence, what a torment wouldst thou prove,
 Were it not thy sour leisure gave sweet leave
 To entertain the time with thoughts of love,
 Which time and thoughts so sweetly doth deceive,
 And that thou teachest how to make one twain,
 By praising him here who doth hence remain !

BOOK II. Since I left you mine eye is in my mind,
 sonnet viii. And that which governs me to go about
 Doth part his function and is partly blind,
 Seems seeing, but effectually is out ;
 For it no form delivers to the heart
 Of bird, of flower, or shape, which it doth latch :
 (Thorpe Of his quick objects hath the mind no part,
 xliii.) Nor his own vision holds what it doth catch ;
 For if it see the rudest or gentlest sight,
 The most sweet favour or deformed'st creature,
 The mountain or the sea, the day or night,
 The crow or dove, it shapes them to your feature :
 Incapable of more, replete with you,
 My most true mind thus maketh mine untrue.

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BOOK II. Or whether doth my mind, being crown'd with you,
Sonnet ix. Drink up the monarch's plague, this flattery ?
Or whether shall I say, mine eye saith true,
And that your love taught it this alchemy,
To make of monsters and things indigest
Such cherubins as your sweet self resemble,
(Thorpe Creating every bad a perfect best,
cxiv.) As fast as objects to his beams assemble ?
O, 'tis the first ; 'tis flattery in my seeing,
And my great mind most kingly drinks it up :
Mine eye well knows what with his gust is 'greeing,
And to his palate doth prepare the cup :
If it be poison'd, 'tis the lesser sin
That mine eye loves it and doth first begin.

BOOK II. Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd
Sonnet x. Thy beauty's form in table of my heart ;
My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,
And perspective it is best painter's art.
For through the painter must you see his skill,
To find where your true image pictured lies ;
(Thorpe Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,
xxiv.) That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.
Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done :
Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me
Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun
Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee ;
Yet eyes this cunning want to grace their art,
They draw but what they see, know not the heart.

Book II. Mine eye and heart are at a mortal war,
 sonnet xi. How to divide the conquest of thy sight ;
 Mine eye my heart thy picture's sight would bar,
 My heart mine eye the freedom of that right.
 My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie,
 A closet never pierced with crystal eyes,
 (Thorpe But the defendant doth that plea deny,
 xlvii.) And says in him thy fair appearance lies.
 To 'cide this title is impanneled
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart ;
 And by their verdict is determined
 The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part :
 As thus ; mine eye's due is thine outward part,
 And my heart's right thine inward love of heart.

Book II. Betwixt mine eye and heart a league is took,
 sonnet xii. And each doth good turns now unto the other :
 When that mine eye is famish'd for a look,
 Or heart in love with sighs himself doth smother,
 With my love's picture then my eye doth feast
 And to the painted banquet bids my heart ;
 (Thorpe Another time mine eye is my heart's guest
 xlvii.) And in his thoughts of love doth share a part :
 So, either by thy picture or my love,
 Thyself away art present still with me ;
 For thou not farther than my thoughts canst move,
 And I am still with them and they with thee ;
 Or, if they sleep, thy picture in my sight
 Awakes my heart to heart's and eye's delight.

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BOOK II. When most I wink, then do mine eyes best see,
 Sonnet For all the day they view things unrespected ;
 xiii. But when I sleep, in dreams they look on thee,
 And, darkly bright, are bright in dark directed.
 Then thou, whose shadow shadows doth make bright,
 How would thy shadow's form form happy show
 (Thorpe To the clear day with thy much clearer light,
 xliii.) When to unseeing eyes thy shade shines so !
 How would, I say, mine eyes be blessed made
 By looking on thee in the living day,
 When in dead night thy fair imperfect shade
 Through heavy sleep on sightless eyes doth stay !
 All days are nights to see till I see thee,
 And nights bright days when dreams do show thee me.

BOOK II. Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed,
 Sonnet The dear repose for limbs with travel tired ;
 xiv. But then begins a journey in my head,
 To work my mind, when body's work's expired :
 For then my thoughts, from far where I abide,
 Intend a zealous pilgrimage to thee,
 (Thorpe And keep my drooping eyelids open wide,
 xxvii.) Looking on darkness which the blind do see :
 Save that my soul's imaginary sight
 Presents thy shadow to my sightless view,
 Which, like a jewel hung in ghastly night,
 Makes black night beauteous and her old face new.
 Lo, thus, by day my limbs, by night my mind,
 For thee and for myself no quiet find.

BOOK II. How can I then return in happy plight,
 SONNET XV. That am debarr'd the benefit of rest ?
 When day's oppression is not eased by night,
 But day by night, and night by day, oppress'd ?
 And each, though enemies to either's reign,
 Do in consent shake hands to torture me ;
 Thorpe The one by toil, the other to complain
 xxviii.) How far I toil, still farther off from thee.
 I tell the day, to please him thou art bright,
 And dost him grace when clouds do blot the heaven :
 So flatter I the swart-complexion'd night ;
 When sparkling stars twire not thou gild'st the even.
 But day doth daily draw my sorrows longer,
 And night doth nightly make grief's strength seem
 stronger.

BOOK II. Is it thy will thy image should keep open
 SONNET XVI. My heavy eyelids to the weary night ?
 Dost thou desire my slumbers should be broken,
 While shadows like to thee do mock my sight ?
 Is it thy spirit that thou send'st from thee
 So far from home into my deeds to pry,
 Thorpe To find out shames and idle hours in me,
 lxi.) The scope and tenour of thy jealousy ?
 O, no ! thy love, though much, is not so great :
 It is my love that keeps mine eye awake ;
 Mine own true love that doth my rest defeat,
 To play the watchman ever for thy sake :
 For thee watch I whilst thou doth wake elsewhere,
 From me far off, with others all too near.

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BOOK II.
Sonnet
xvii.

So are you to my thoughts as food to life,
Or as sweet-season'd showers are to the ground ;
And for the peace of you I hold such strife
As 'twixt a miser and his wealth is found ;
Now proud as an enjoyer, and anon
Doubting the filching age will steal his treasure ;
Now counting best to be with you alone,
Then better'd that the world may see my pleasure :
Sometime all full with feasting on your sight,
And by and by clean starved for a look ;
Possessing or pursuing no delight,
Save what is had or must from you be took.
Thus do I pine and surfeit day by day,
Or gluttoning on all, or all away.

(Thorpe
lxv.)

BOOK II.
Sonnet
xviii.

How careful was I, when I took my way,
Each trifle under truest bars to thrust,
That to my use it might unused stay
From hands of falsehood, in sure wards of trust !
But thou, to whom my jewels trifles are,
Most worthy comfort, now my greatest grief,
Thou, best of dearest and mine only care,
Art left the prey of every vulgar thief.
Thee have I not lock'd up in any chest,
Save where thou art not, though I feel thou art,
Within the gentle closure of my breast,
From whence at pleasure thou mayst come and part ;
And even thence thou wilt be stol'n, I fear,
For truth proves thievish for a prize so dear.

(Thorpe
xlviii.)

BOOK II. Sonnet xix.
 (Thorpe lii.)

So am I as the rich, whose blessed key
 Can bring him to his sweet up-locked treasure,
 The which he will not every hour survey,
 For blunting the fine point of seldom pleasure.
 Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare,
 Since, seldom coming, in the long year set,
 Like stones of worth they thinly placed are,
 Or captain jewels in the carcanet.
 So is the time that keeps you as my chest,
 Or as the wardrobe which the robe doth hide,
 To make some special instant special blest,
 By new unfolding his imprison'd pride.
 Blessed are you, whose worthiness gives scope,
 Being had, to triumph, being lack'd, to hope.

BOOK II. Sonnet xx.
 (Thorpe xxvi.)

Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage
 Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit,
 To thee I send this written ambassage,
 To witness duty, not to show my wit :
 Duty so great, which wit so poor as mine
 May make seem bare, in wanting words to show it,
 But that I hope some good conceit of thine
 In thy soul's thought, all naked, will bestow it ;
 Till whatsoever star that guides my moving,
 Points on me graciously with fair aspect,
 And puts apparel on my tatter'd loving,
 To show me worthy of thy sweet respect :
 Then may I dare to boast how I do love thee ;
 Till then not show my head where thou mayst prove
 me.

CHAPTER V

MISTRESS ANNE DAVENANT OF OXFORD AS THE DARK LADY OF THE SONNETS

A BOOK entitled *Willobie his Avisa, or the True Picture of a Modest Maid and a Chaste and Constant Wife*, was entered upon the Stationers' Registers in September 1594, and published in the same year. No author's name appears upon the title-page, but two prefaces are signed "Hadrian Dorrell" by the alleged editor, who asserts that he found the poem among the papers of his friend and chamber fellow, "Mr. Henry Willobie, a young man and a scholar of very good hope, (who) being desirous to see the fashions of other countries for a time, departed voluntarily to her Majesties service. Who at his departure, chose me amongst the rest of his friends, unto whom he reposed so much trust, that he delivered me the key of his study, and the use of all his bookes till his returne." Farther on, the alleged Dorrell continues: "I have ventured so farre upon his friendship, as to publish it without his consent."

The fact that Shakespeare is mentioned by name for the first time in literature in some prefatory verses to the poem, coupled with the use of the initials "W. S." for one of the characters of the story, and the identity of the initials of Henry Willobie with those of Shakespeare's patron, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, has long since attracted the attention of Shakespearean students,

without, however, resulting in anything more definite confirmatory of its allusion to Shakespeare and his friends than expressions of unsupported personal opinion or surmise of a nebulous nature. Certain critics have, in fact, gravely taken the story of *Willobie his Avis*a and the alleged editor's preface at their literal values and searched contemporary records for an actual Henry Willobie. Dr. Grosart finding a nineteen-year-old Henry Willoughby at West Noyle in Wiltshire, suggested this youth as the possible author of *Willobie his Avis*a. In this connection this Willoughby was later accorded a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, in turn, secures him notice in the same connection in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Sir Sidney Lee, while admitting Shakespeare has the better claim, tentatively suggests an obscure contemporary writer with the not uncommon name of William Smith, as the "W. S." of the poem for the same, otherwise unsupported, reason that he proposes a William Hall as the "Mr. W. H." of Thorpe's dedication of the Sonnets, *i.e.*, identity of initials. Bishop Creighton ascribed the composition of the poem to the Earl of Southampton; and Mr. Charles Hughes suggested Thomas Kyd as its author, but, admitting that his grounds were far-fetched, leaned to a belief in the actuality of a Henry Willobie, who, he suggested, may have made love to an unidentified but exceptionally beautiful girl, who may have been named Avice Forward, and may have lived in the village of Mere, near West Noyle in Wiltshire, and may have been eighteen years of age in 1593, when the Earl of Southampton accompanied by Shakespeare may have visited this locality; and much more of the same hypothetical nature, all of

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which, however, Mr. Hughes frankly admitted, was only a fanciful picture but which Sir Sidney Lee welcomes as "new arguments to justify association of the book with Shakespeare's biography," while dismissing the present writer's findings and argument as "a fanciful theory."

In a recent essay¹ I have clearly shown that Hadrian Dorrell was a myth and his alleged editorship a literary hoax, and also demonstrated the fact that George Chapman's friend, Matthew Roydon, was the real author of this poem, as well as of another shorter poem referring to *Willobie his Avis*, entitled *Penelope's Complaint*, which he published two years later under the pseudonym of Peter Colse.² I have shown that both of these poems were intended to satirise and make public the relations between the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare and the "dark lady," adumbrated in the third *book* of sonnets, the composition of which sequence I have consequently been enabled to date earlier than September 1594, and, in turn, to assign the relations depicted in these sonnets between the writer, his patron and the "dark lady," to a still earlier period.

Following clues intentionally given by Roydon to reveal

¹ *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. 1913.

² Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds of the Ashmolean Museum has kindly let me have transcripts of two MSS. of Oxford libels, now in the library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. These purport to be written by different persons, i.e. Thomas Buckley and Thomas Bastard. They are in the same jingling metre as *Willobie his Avis* and are palpably by the same hand. I have no hesitancy in ascribing both to Matthew Roydon. They pertain to the period when Roydon was an undergraduate at Oxford. In them he plays the same trick he played with *Willobie his Avis* and *Penelope's Complaint*, in 1596, using different pen names and advertising one by referring to it in the other. These libels were written before Roydon had taken orders, and are too obscene for general publication. After his ordination he cloaks his obscenity under a guise of piety by pretending to defend and extol chastity.

the identity of Avisà's original, I have shown that the story he tells refers to the same persons and conditions reflected in the third *book* of sonnets, and that both refer to the wife of an Oxford inn, or tavern, keeper, who displayed a sign connected in some manner with St. George, which, I suggested, may have been the George Inn, then situated on Cornmarket Street just outside the old northern city gates, anciently known as Bocardo; naturally inferring that an inn or tavern described as

. . . yonder house, where hanges the badge
Of England's Saint, when captaines cry
Victorious land, to conquering rage,

would be known as "The George," or "St. George."

Recalling the gossip reported by Anthony Wood, John Aubrey and others, regarding Shakespeare's alleged relations with the handsome and sprightly wife of the dour and taciturn John Davenant, the host of the Crown Tavern at Oxford in 1604, and later, I also advanced the theory that Avisà, the "dark lady," and Mrs. Davenant were one, and that Wood's and Aubrey's gossip was merely a belated echo of the early scandal of 1593-6;¹ assuming

¹ The superficial nature of Aubrey's information regarding Shakespeare's connection with the Davenants is shown in the fact that he records Shakespeare as lodging at a tavern. "Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare and did commonly in his journey *lye at this house in Oxon.*" It is likely that Aubrey owed his information to Wood or to the same general gossip as Wood's account, who, however, does not make this mistake but records that Davenant . . . kept the tavern "*now known by the name of the Crowne*" . . . was an admirer of plays and playmakers, especially Shakespeare "*who frequented his house*" in his journeys between Stratford and London. Wood knew the distinction between a tavern and an inn, was aware that the tavern "*now known by the name of the Crowne*" had no lodging accommodation for travellers; his memoranda of his own wine expenses shows that he himself patronised the Crowne Tavern freely while he was in Oxford.

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that John Davenant conducted the George Inn at that period, and previous to his occupation of the Crown Tavern, which he has hitherto been supposed to have entered upon in 1604, when his licence as vintner was issued. As Davenant was Bailiff of Oxford in 1613, and Mayor in 1621, I argued that it was unlikely he was a newcomer there in 1604, and that he probably occupied some other tavern or inn before that date, and the evidence in hand seemed plainly to point to the George. I took it for granted also that such interested antiquarians as Wood and Aubrey had exhausted all sources of information regarding Davenant, which, I have since found, they were far from doing.

In addition to the discrepant fact that Avisas's husband conducted a tavern under a sign connected with St. George, while Mistress Davenant was reported by Wood and Aubrey to have been the hostess of the Crown Tavern, there was another break in my evidence identifying this woman with Avisas, in the fact that Roydon gives the initials "A. D." for the woman whom he reflects as Avisas, while the wife of the host of the Crown Tavern was known as Jane Davenant. I have since ascertained some new facts regarding Davenant and the Oxford inns and taverns of his time which fully resolve these apparent discrepancies.

Roydon describes Avisas as the daughter of a tradesman who is also the Mayor of a western town connected by tradition with the activities of St. Augustine, the first Romish Primate of England—at the time that he campaigned against the Welsh Christian priesthood in his endeavours to force them to conform to the usages and rule of the Romish Church.

At westerne side of Albions Ile,
Where Austine pitcht his Monkish tent.

He describes the town as possessing a castle alleged to have been built and held by ancient bishops ;¹ as situated east of some well-known springs, and surrounded by downs used at that period as sheep pastures.

At the age of twenty Avisa married a tavernkeeper from a larger inland town, becoming hostess of his tavern, which displayed

. . . the badge
Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry
Victorious land, to conquering rage.

In pretending to discover the origin of the name of Avisa, Roydon suggests that it may have been derived from the Latin *Avis*, a bird. He also introduces the word "Bird" frequently in his descriptions of Avisa. This led me to suggest, in 1913, that Avisa's father's name was Bird; an inference which I have since verified through the able and interested co-operation of the Rev. H. E. Salter of Abingdon, President of the Oxford Historical Society, who has also aided me in throwing new light upon Davenant's connection with the history I am here unfolding.

Along with much other valuable information regarding Elizabethan Oxford with which Mr. Salter has provided me, he informs me of the fact, established by Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds' research,—of which I was previously unaware, and regarding which other students appear still to be uninformed,—that in the time of Elizabeth the functions of an innkeeper differed from those of a tavern-keeper in that he conducted an alehouse, catered to the general public and provided meals, sleeping accommodation and stabling facilities, while a tavernkeeper was, as a rule,

¹ "By ancient shepherds built of old."

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patronised by the better classes, sold only wines and did not provide other accommodations. He informed me also that Mr. Leeds has found that in Davenant's time there were usually only six licensed vintners in Oxford, and called my attention to the fact that though John Davenant is described as a vintner in the parish registers of St. Martin's on 4th April 1604, when his son Robert was baptized, he was not admitted to the freedom of the City and licensed to be a vintner until 4th June, in the same year. Mr. Salter wrote me that Mr. Leeds, who has investigated the records concerning Oxford vintners, informed him that the solution of this is that a tenant of a house was permitted to sell wine under his landlord's licence. I shall make it evident that Davenant operated as a tavernkeeper under such an arrangement from 1592 until 1604, when he secured his own vintner's licence. It is not unlikely that during a part of this period he also operated as an innkeeper.

After the publication of *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, late in 1913, certain critics having questioned the likelihood of Davenant's occupancy of a tavern in Oxford earlier than 1604, when he secured the freedom of the City and obtained his vintner's licence; and, at that time, not having the necessary leisure personally to pursue investigations at Oxford regarding Davenant and his leases, I wrote to the Mayor of Oxford requesting permission to examine the municipal archives by proxy. The City Clerk of Oxford obligingly showed my letter to Mr. Salter, who kindly wrote me that he had found, among many other interesting things, the illuminating fact that in 1619 Davenant, in addition to The Tavern—later called The Crown—also occupied an inn contiguous to this tavern,

and known at that time as the "Crosse Inn." Here we have the

. . . house, where hangs the badge
Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry
Victorious land, to conquering rage.

The English battle flag of St. George ; a red cross on a white field. This inn is still in existence on the same site, but is now known as "The Golden Cross."

As no mention is made of the Crosse Inn in Davenant's will, which is dated in October 1622, it is apparent that if he ever personally conducted the inn, by that time, and evidently at an earlier date, he had narrowed his activities down to the conduct of the Tavern. The reason the Tavern operated under so non-specific a name is in all probability the fact that it was at this period regarded as an adjunct of the Crosse Inn.¹ Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds shows conclusively that Davenant's tavern was not known as the Crown until late in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Salter has also found data which shows that Davenant never at any time held a lease for either the Crosse Inn or the Crown Tavern direct from the owners of the property, but which makes it evident that he held the Tavern on a sublease from a Mr. William Hough, Junior, or from others to whom the younger Hough hypothecated his lease during his life. Such leases were then regarded in the light of investment securities, and were bought and sold, or hypothecated for loans, as stocks and bonds are now. William Hough, Junior, died in 1606, but in his will made in 1595, after a number of specific bequests, he

¹ The licences and leases of both the Inn and the Tavern were for years in the same hands, and the innyard, as an entrance and exit, was evidently then common to both properties, as such a right-of-way still exists for the Tavern property.

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leaves the residue of his estate after his debts are paid to his four brothers. It is evident that his brother Daniel inherited this lease which had been hypothecated in his portion, as we find it in his hands at the time of Davenant's death in 1622.¹ It thus appears that Davenant was protected by a sublease conterminable with the original secured by William Hough, Junior.

Late in 1913 Mr. Salter wrote me as follows: "I have found evidence in a lease at Christ Church, dated December 1619, and relating to a tenement on High Street which is bounded on the north by the Crosse Inn, that Davenant occupied the Crosse Inn at that date. The wording of the lease reads: 'abutting upon a stone wall belonging to the Crosse Inne now in the occupation of John Davenant Vintner.' This inn is still in existence on the east side of Cornmarket Street, but is now called the Golden Cross."

While there is no mention of the Crosse Inn in Davenant's will which was made three years later, we learn there that he held the adjacent Tavern on a sublease from "Mr. Huffe"² and that the lease had still several years to run. This portion of the will reads: "my will is also *concerning the remainder of the years of my lease on my house the tavern*, that if Thomas [Hallow, his apprentice] and any of my daughters do marry together, that he and she shall enjoy

¹ If Daniel Hough did not inherit the lease of the Tavern from his brother, he did so from his mother; who, when a widow—Mr. Leeds shows us—was interested in the leasing or purchase of portions of contiguous properties as adjuncts to the Tavern holdings, such as the walk and garden at the back. In this event William Hough, the younger, in leasing the Tavern in 1592 for forty years, was evidently acting for his father, who leased the Crosse Inn for forty years at the same time.

² This was Daniel Hough, D.D., third son of William Hough, Sr., and brother of William Hough, Jr., who leased the Crown Tavern in 1592 for forty years, and who died in 1605.

the remainder of the years be it five or six, more or less, after he comes out of his years, paying to my son Robert over and above the rent to Mr. Huffe yearly so much as they two shall agree upon, my overseers being umpire between them."

I will show later that William Hough, Junior, in 1592 leased the Tavern—which was then and even later styled "Tattleton's" ¹ in leases—for a period of forty years.

In making his will as above in 1622, Davenant shows that after Thomas Hallom's apprenticeship ended, his lease, or sublease, of the Tavern, which he held from Hough, had still "five or six years, more or less," to run. Allowing then for about three or four years more apprenticeship for Thomas Hallom, and from five to seven years thereafterwards till the end of the lease, we come to the year 1632, or the end of the forty years' sublease, executed in 1592.² This makes it apparent in the light of *Willobie his Avis*, which satirises conditions existent in 1593, that when William Hough, Junior, leased "Tattleton's" (the Tavern) from New College in that year, he subleased at the same time and for about the same period to John Davenant. I have shown that in 1619—in conjunction with the Tavern—Davenant was in some way interested in the Crosse Inn, which adjoined the Tavern on the north. Let us inquire, then, how long before 1619 was he likely to have been connected with this inn?

In the transcripts of the records of New College leases

¹ This was the name of a previous occupant of the Tavern.

² The frequent hypothecation of the original lease would necessitate new arrangements with the lessor upon each occasion, and the resulting delays upon each occasion involved in such transactions, be likely to lengthen or shorten slightly the original term, as well as that of the sublease.

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to the Houghs of the Tavern and the Crosse Inn, made and sent to me by Mr. Salter, I find that William Hough, Junior's, lease for "Tattleton's" (the Tavern) is dated 6th July 1592, and that three days later his father, William Hough, furrier of Oxford, took a new forty years' lease upon the Crosse Inn. It appears very probable then, in the light of the foregoing facts, that one or both of these leases were taken out to be sublet to Davenant at this time, though other evidence makes it clear that Davenant did not continuously conduct the Crosse Inn, though he evidently did the Tavern, during these years.

The social and business connection of the Davenant family and the Houghs was so close and long-enduring that it is possible a kinship existed between them. In the records of All Hallows in London, in which parish I find voluminous records of John Davenant's family, I also find Houghs who are designated "skinners," which is practically the same as "furriers." I find but one record of the name Hough in Oxford previous to the appearance of William Hough, who, like John Davenant, probably also came from London. When William Hough, Senior, died, his widow married John Stanton of London, and upon his death married a John Fludde of London, and probably a John Fludde whose son of the same name was one of the witnesses to the will of John Davenant, Senior, of London, in 1596. Anthony Wood reports that Sir William Davenant, after the death of his father, studied at Lincoln College under the care of the Rev. Daniel Hough, who we find again taking out a lease for the Tavern in 1639, at which date it was still in the occupation of Jane Hallom; her husband, Thomas Hallom, having died three years before.

I will now proceed to show that John Davenant—

through his first wife—came into possession of a sum of money sufficient to enable him to operate a tavern at about the time that William Hough and his son took the leases of the Tavern and the Crosse Inn in 1592.

Mr. Salter had secured such remarkable results in his Oxford investigations that I referred to him my problem regarding the western town indicated by Roydon as traditionally connected with St. Augustine, in the hope that his knowledge of English antiquities and Church history would solve it ; and was informed by him that Bristol is linked by tradition with St. Augustine's Welsh campaign, and that Bristol Abbey was said to have been built upon the site of an old oak tree, known as St. Augustine's oak, under which he is supposed to have encamped.

An examination of the topography of Bristol soon convinced me that it was the town indicated by Roydon. It is surrounded by downs : is situated

At westerne side of Albions Ile,

and in the time of Elizabeth contained a castle alleged to have been built by prelates,¹ and it lies to the east of a well-known thermal spring. I then wrote to Mr. Salter asking him if it would be possible to ascertain whether or not there was a Mayor of Bristol named Bird, between about 1585 and 1592 ; as I had already published my opinion that Avisia was married to John Davenant sometime between 1589-91 and 1592, and that her father was Mayor of his town before her marriage. A passage in my next letter from Mr. Salter reads : " I was so convinced by your arguments that Avisia

¹ Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, who in 1086 was in receipt of almost a third of the revenues of the town of Bristol, is generally supposed to have been the builder of the castle. *Bristol*, by William Hunt. 1889. Longmans, Green & Co.

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must have been a Miss Bird, and that her father was Mayor in a western town connected with St. Augustine, that I had a search this morning for the Mayors of Bristol. The tradition among Bristol people has always been that the conference between St. Augustine and the Welsh took place at Bristol, and that St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol was founded on the site of St. Augustine's oak. The Mayor of Bristol in 1589 was William Bird, draper ; he was Sheriff of the City in 1573 ; he died on 8th October 1590, and his monument is in one of the churches. His inscription ends

Progeniemque suam multa cum laude reliquit.

If his will survives, it would be interesting to know what daughters he had. He was very rich and gave five hundred pounds or more to endow a school or some such institution. If I am in London, as I hope, in three weeks' time I will have a search for the will of William Bird."

A month later Mr. Salter wrote me as follows : " My visit to Somerset House to inspect the will of William Bird has yielded the following results : his will was proved October 16, 1590. He had no daughter named Jane. He leaves £600 to William, his youngest son, when he attains the age of twenty-four ; £600 to Anne Bird, ' my youngest daughter,' when she is twenty years old ; £300 to Miles Jackson and Mary his wife, ' my daughter ' ; also £500 to William Sachfeilde, mercer, and Anne his wife and to their two children."

Here is an example of the adage that truth is stranger than fiction. Had Mr. Salter found for me that the daughter who was to receive £600 when she was twenty years old was named Jane, it would no doubt have appealed to the very literal-minded as quite substantiating my theory, but the memory of an excellent woman and the mother

of seven children would have remained besmirched, and there would be left the unsolved question of Roydon's reason for endowing his married original for Avis with the initials A. D. instead of J. D. Roydon, as Hadrian Dorrell, in the capacity of editor, pretends to question the fact that Avis had an original, and in doing so gives an intentional clue to her identity. He writes: "Whether my author knew, or heard of any such I cannot tell, but of mine owne knowledge, I dare to sweare that I know one A. D. that either hath or would, if occasion were so offered, indure these and many greater temptations with a constant mind and setled heart."

If Anne, daughter of William Bird, became Mistress Davenant in 1591-2, why was Davenant's wife known as Jane Davenant in 1604, and later? There is palpably only one reason possible, *i.e.* that Davenant was married twice; first in 1591-2 to Anne—daughter of Mayor Bird—who succumbed to the temptations of her calling as the hostess of a popular Elizabethan tavern or inn—as they are depicted by Roydon—and who died sometime before 1600; Davenant marrying again at about the latter date; his second wife being named Jane, and, according to contemporary report, a highly moral and virtuous woman, who bore him seven children, with an interval of less than two years between the birth of each of them; the eldest, a daughter named Jane, being baptized on 11th February 1601. To her memory the belated echoes of the old scandal of *Willobie his Avis* were attached by rumour in after years when all the participants had passed away and definite knowledge of the facts had been obliterated.¹

¹ In a footnote in the *Registers of Westminster Abbey* concerning the burial there of Sir William Davenant, I find that his mother's maiden name was Jane Shepherd, and that she was a native of Durham.

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There can now be little doubt, however, that Anne, daughter of William Bird of Bristol, was the original for Avisa and for Shakespeare's "dark lady," and that she married Davenant sometime between 1590 and 1592. I will now adduce further documentary evidence secured on a recent visit to England which will, I believe, make this conclusive.

Being now fairly sure that Anne, daughter of Mayor William Bird of Bristol, to whom he bequeathed £600 in 1590 "at her marriage or when she attained the age of twenty years" was the Avisa of *Willobie his Avis*, I searched the parish registers of all of the older Bristol churches, hoping to find record of her marriage to John Davenant between the end of 1590 and the middle of 1592, but the only mention of her I could find was her birth in October 1574, which is recorded in the registers of St. Nicholas the Bishop, her father's parish church. The Bristol parish registers of this period, and particularly the registers of marriages, appear to have been kept in a very desultory and negligent manner, as no records appear of the marriage of any of William Bird's children in any of the registers; yet all four of them were married before 1594. This may be accounted for by the probable fact that many of the marriages of the children of prominent citizens took place at the Cathedral, or at the Mayor's Chapel, and that most of the Bishop's transcripts of the parish registers were lost during the Chartist riots, when the Bishop's Palace was destroyed by fire. My search of the Bristol parish registers for records of William Bird and his family was somewhat confused by the fact that there were then several families of Birds in, or about, Bristol, and that the same Christian names were used in all of them. In the parish registers

of St. Mary Redcliffe I found the marriage of an Anne Bird and John Gifford in September 1592, which for a while gave me pause and seemed to put John Davenant out of the running, as I did not then conceive the likelihood that there were two Anne Birds of a marriageable age in Bristol at the exact date that matched all of my other clues.

Failing to find confirmation of my theory regarding the marriage of Anne Bird and John Davenant in the Bristol parish registers, it occurred to me that I might find at Oxford some evidence confirming my inference derived from *Willobie his Avis*, and the leases of the Crosse Inn and Tavern executed in 1592, by the Houghs, of John Davenant's earlier connection with that city than the record of the baptism of his daughter Jane on February 11, 1601-2, in the parish registers of St. Martin's.

Upon the publication of *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, in 1913, one or two journalistic critics, in casting doubt upon my theory concerning Oxford as the scene of action of *Willobie his Avis*, mentioned the mooted suggestion that John Davenant of Oxford had originally come from London, and the likelihood that he was a newcomer in Oxford in 1604. Seeing that John Davenant left instructions in his will that certain of his sons be entered at the Merchant Taylors' School, and that he bequeathed to one of them real estate at Deptford, and also that no documentary records have yet been found of Davenants in Oxford earlier than those of John, the vintner, it has always appeared to me as probable that Davenant originally came from London. Upon my visit to Oxford, Mr. Leeds of the Ashmolean Museum called to my attention an extract from the *Catalogue of Shakespeare*

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Exposition at the Bodleian Library 1916, containing a monograph on *Shakespeare and Oxford*, written by Dean Hutton, in which he suggests the possibility that John Davenett, who is mentioned in Clode's *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors* as, in 1568, serving at a Lord Mayor's dinner in his capacity of Bachelor of the Merchant Taylors Company, and who is again mentioned as being chosen Warden of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1592, was the same John Davenant who conducted a tavern at Oxford in 1604 and later. An investigation of the records and functions of the Merchant Taylors Company will show the improbability that a member who had attained to the bachelorship as early as 1568 and to the dignity of wardenship by 1592, should, twelve years later, begin a career as tavernkeeper in Oxford, and be the father of a young and growing family in the succeeding years. I shall later on show conclusively that John Davenett, the Warden of the Merchant Taylors Company, mentioned above, died in 1596, and that he was the son of Rafe Davenant, Merchant Taylor, and was known as John Davenant, Senior, to distinguish him from his younger cousin of the same name, who was living with Rafe Davenant at the time the latter made his will, and shortly before his death in 1552. I shall also make it clear that John Davenant, Senior, was the father of John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, and that his first cousin, John Davenant, Junior, was the father of John Davenant of Oxford, and consequently, that John Davenant of Oxford and John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, were second cousins.

As my further investigations at Oxford and an examination of Mr. Leeds' notes and MS. relating to the Oxford

vintners, while revealing nothing that ran counter to my theory regarding John Davenant's occupation of the Crosse Inn or Tavern, or both, from 1592 to 1596, yet produced no new documentary evidence of its truth, and as it appeared probable that John Davenant had spent his earlier years in London, I now entered upon an examination of the parish registers of the older London churches and of the records of the Merchant Taylors Company, seeking light on John Davenant and his family connections. The multiplicity of John Davenants I encountered in the same or contiguous parishes, and their evident relationship to each other, made it difficult at first to distinguish one from another, especially as I found two John Davenants, both living in the same parish and both merchant taylor, and each with a son named John, at the same time. By co-ordinating the information gained in the parish registers with that supplied by a number of wills at Somerset House, I succeeded in tracing John Davenant of Oxford back to his grandfather Davenant, whose Christian name, however, I cannot learn, though inference and information gained from later-time wills and visitations imply that he and Rafe were the sons of a John Davenant, a freeholder in the County of Essex, whose property was known as Davenant's Lands. It is likely that John of Oxford's grandfather was Rafe's elder brother and that he vegetated on the farm and became reduced in fortune, while Rafe, we have evidence, was apprenticed to a merchant taylor in London, married well and prospered in business, leaving a large fortune at his death in 1552. I find no records of John of Oxford's grandfather in London other than the mention of him as "brother Davenant" in Rafe Davenant's will, and from this and the fact that

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his son, John, was living with Rafe Davenant in London at the time the latter made his will, I infer that he was Rafe's elder brother, had remained on the farm and that his children were born there. I find records of the christening of eight of Rafe Davenant's children in the registers of All Hallows and of the burial of six, but no mention of the birth or burial of any of his brother's children in any of the registers.

John Davenant, Junior, the father of John Davenant of Oxford, was about two years younger than his cousin of the same name ; he was born in about 1641 and was about eleven years old at his uncle's death. Two years later he was apprenticed to Oliver Rowe, a merchant taylor, and was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company on 26th March 1563, and to the livery of the Company on 14th June 1569. At the expiration of his apprenticeship on 15th February 1563 he was married to Judith Sparke at All Hallows in Bread Street. His son John—later of Oxford—was born on 6th August 1565, and was entered at the Merchant Taylors' School in 1574, where he remained seven years, when he was apprenticed to Robert Kendrick, woollen merchant, and was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company on 11th August 1589. As his father, his father's cousin and this cousin's oldest son, Edward—all three of whom continued for years to be connected with businesses functioning under the auspices of the Merchant Taylors Company—attained to the livery of the Company, while others of his cousins—whose active connections with the Merchant Taylors Company appear to have ended with the attainment of their freedom and who are not recorded as attaining to the livery of the Company—thereafter

followed other businesses or professions, it is evident that he, also, ceased to be actively connected with the woollen business soon after the attainment of his freedom, as he is not recorded as having secured the livery of the Company. His admission to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company on 11th August 1589 is the last documentary record I find regarding him until the baptism of his daughter Jane, in February 1601, recorded in the parish records of St. Martin's at Oxford.

A careful search has failed to provide further information regarding Robert Kendrick, but as the name was not common at that period in London, it appears probable that he was a relative, partner, or predecessor in business of John Kendrick, one of the largest woollen merchants in London, who died, leaving a large estate, on the 1st January 1625. John Kendrick came from Reading, which city and its charities are remembered liberally in his will. It is not improbable that "Kendrick Road" in Reading is named after him. He appears to have had business dealings in woollen cloth all over England and on the Continent. His will at Somerset House is a remarkable document; is beautifully written and very legible, and throws much light upon the business operations of London woollen merchants of the time. Incidentally it reveals Kendrick as an unusual man, of broad vision, and charming and kindly character. Kendrick was a bachelor and left a large proportion of his estate to charities, his death is mentioned regretfully in two letters of John Chamberlain's to Sir Dudley Carleton, in January 1625.¹

Until I found that John Davenant had served an apprenticeship of eight years in the woollen business, I

¹ *Court and Times of James I.* 1848.

found it difficult to account for the marriage of an Oxford tavernkeeper to the daughter of a Bristol woollen draper. Finding in William Bird's will a small bequest to a nephew and niece, children of his brother "John Bird late of London," I thought it probable that William Bird's daughter might have made John Davenant's acquaintance while visiting her relatives in London. In view of my newer findings it appears probable that though John Davenant did not remain permanently in the woollen trade, that he did so for a year or so after the expiration of his apprenticeship, and that he met his future wife while doing business with William Bird—who is described in his will as woollen draper—for Robert Kendrick in Bristol, which city was at that time second only to London as a centre of the woollen trade. John Davenant's knowledge of the business opportunity presented by the chance of operating the Crosse Inn or Tavern at Oxford was also, in all probability, the result of business dealings of a similar nature with customers of Kendrick's at Oxford. This conjecture, however, anticipates my fuller evidence of the fact of Davenant's marriage to William Bird's daughter. This still remaining unverified by documentary evidence, and having, as I thought, exhausted all possible clues to be derived from the wills and parish registers concerning the Birds and Davenants, I now began a search for other records relating to sixteenth-century Bristol and the surrounding country, hoping to find some clue that would lead to a full demonstration of the fact of John Davenant's marriage to Anne Bird, youngest daughter of William Bird, Mayor of Bristol; and instead found evidence which, had my analysis of Roydon's satire in *Willobie his Avis*, when coupled with the record of Davenant's actual occupation of the Crosse

Inn, not been so convincing, would have seemed completely to demolish my theory.

All the evidence hitherto advanced infers that an Oxford tavernkeeper or innkeeper who conducted a place of business bearing the sign of

. . . the badge
Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry
Victorious land, to conquering rage,

had, sometime before the publication of *Willobie his Avis*a—in September 1594—married a daughter of William Bird, Mayor of Bristol, whose name commenced with the letter A, and in fact a new piece of evidence I had recently found plainly showed the name to be Anne. When Roydon, under the pen name of Peter Colse, issued *Penelope's Complaint* in 1596, at the time of the dénouement of the scandal, his friend, Samuel Daniel, prefixed to the publication the following Latin verses :

Amico suo charissimo P.C. S.D.

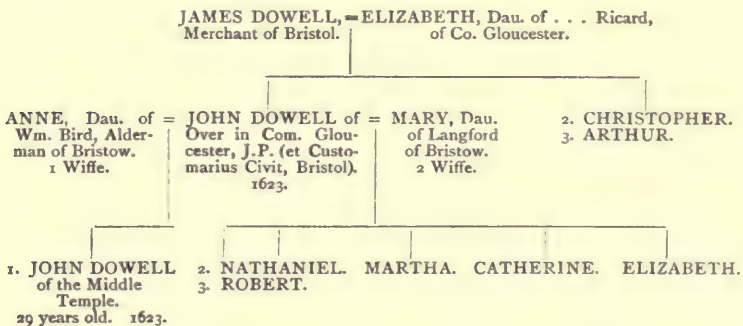
Quid quærit titulos, quid dotes iactat Avis.
Anne ea Penelope est æquiparanda tuæ ?
Penelope clara est, veneranda fidelis : Avis
obscura, obscuro fæmina nata loco.

Penelope satrapæ est conjux illustris : Avis
conjux cauponis, filia pandochei.
Penelope casta est cum sponsus abesset : Avis
casta suo sponso nocte diéque domi.

in which, comparing Avis with Penelope, he specifically names her as Anne. This, coupled with the foregoing argument, seemed definitely to point to William Bird's youngest daughter, Anne, to whom in 1590 he willed £600. The reader may then imagine my perplexity when, in a

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Visitation of Gloucester, made in 1623, I came across the following genealogical note :



The title Alderman instead of Mayor used here still left me some small hope, as I had come across other William and Anne Birds besides the Mayor and his daughter in my search of the records in Bristol, and conceived it possible that there might have been an Alderman William Bird at the same period that his namesake was Mayor. A further search of other Bristol wills, however, showed conclusively that Anne Bird had indeed married John Dowell of Over. In the will of Miles Jackson—who had married William Bird's elder daughter, Mary—Jackson refers to John Dowell as "my brother Dowle," but, luckily for the truth, makes other more enlightening references. He informs us that Mayor Bird's original will was not executed, but that the estate was divided "by arbitrament," and in terms significantly reminiscent of similar terms in William Bird's will, as well as in a phrase identically paralleling a phrase in John Davenant's will, provides a clue to the full solution of the apparent mystery. The solution lies in the fact that William Bird had two families—legitimate and illegitimate—he had two daughters named

Mary and two named Anne, and bequeathed money to all of them. It appears, however, that his natural daughters did not receive all that he had allotted to them.

William Bird's will is an interesting document. He first began to write it on 2nd March 1583, changing it from time to time for over seven years; the last changes in his own hand being made in June 1590, three months before his death. In three different places, written at different periods, he names Miles Jackson and his youngest son, William Bird, as executors, and twice names Richard Smith as overseer. He appears to have come at odds with his older son, Edward, and with his wife some years after he commenced to write his will in 1583. The reasons for this are apparent in his peculiar family relations, revealed in his will. In 1583 he leaves Edward £500, and later on writes in the margin "nought, he must beg by nature" and still later writes: "this staff is cancelled in all points the second day of February 1589, William Bird." Though no specific bequest is made to Edward again in the written will it is evident that he was provided for before his father's death, or received his share when the will was settled "by arbitrament," as he left in legacies over £500 at his death in 1596.

To his youngest son, William, Mayor Bird leaves £800 and his house and stock-in-trade. To "Anne Birde my youngest daughter" he leaves £600 on the day of her marriage or at the age of twenty years, and then, before he mentions his daughter Marie and her husband, Miles Jackson, or his own wife, he bequeaths to "William Sachfeilde, mercer, and to Anne his wife £300 in readie money to be delivered unto them within two years next after my burial if the said Anne live so long, and if not then I give to the

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said William one hundred pounds only and no more. Item, to his two daughters Anne and Marie, to either of them £100," and then in the margin, "to Anne £150, to Marie £150, said Sachfeildes two daughters." He then follows with a bequest of £100 to Richard Smith, draper, and £100 to Elizabeth Smith "his natural daughter." Then to Miles Jackson and to "my daughter, Marie, his wife" he leaves £300 "over and above their marriage money which is full £300 in money." Now he makes his first bequest to his wife, leaving her £700 and the use of her house during her life, but in the margin writes: "not worthie by desert." All of the above was written before 1587, except the marginal notes. In June 1590, three months before his death, and after the death of William Sachfeilde, besides making a number of small bequests to charities and relatives, he writes: "If so happen that I shall not be able to new make this my will then I give to Anne Sackfeilde, widow, £300 in ready money with all her household stuff now in her possession, and to William her son £100." He then changes a number of small bequests which he had made to various charities and public improvements, such as the repair of highways and churches, etc., diverting the total of all of them, and while still living, giving it to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital; the total of this gift being £530. This is a blue coat school somewhat similar to Christ's Hospital in London, and is still in existence. Under the same date—June 1590—he writes: "I make and constitute for the true performance of this my last will and testament, unless anything shall by me hereafter be altered and changed, my well beloved in Christ, Miles Jackson, Gent. and William Bird my son and Richard Smith, draper, overseers, granting and giving to my said overseers and

to every of them jointly, full powers to do and perform all things given and bequeathed by me before in this will specified, charging them to agree like brethren and faithful friends in trust charging them and every of them to deale with my goods in truth faithfully and truly, *even as you will make answer before the tribunal seat of the most highest.* Item, further I charge them when my whole goods wares and debts shalbe laied down and valued being faithfully used, my legacies and gifts being all performed and paid according to my meaning, then my will is that such money, wares and debts and goods whatsoever then remaining, which I trust wilbe above two thousand pounds ; if there fall out the losses of five or six hundred pounds over and besides sundry parcels by me made desperate, being more or less however God shall assign the same, *I will and commande you and every of you to be faithful to my five natural children to whom I give and bequeath all such sobers of my goods not given neither bequeath(ed) to them and every one of them to be equally divided by even portions.* Provided always that if my goods rise in sobers anything like my putting down, which is, I value myself worth seven thousand pounds, I give thanks to the Almighty, then my will and meaning is that my froward wife shalbe by you three something more considered even by your own discretion. And also then I will that Richard Smith's daughter have for her portion full two hundred pounds and William Sachfeildes two daughters the like sum, apiece, etc."

This will makes it evident that Bird's natural children were Richard Smith, William Lavington, and Anne Sachfeilde's three children, Anne, Marie, and William.

Mayor Bird's frequent and solicitous mention of Anne Sachfeilde and her children, and the earnest injunctions he

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imposes upon his executors to deal faithfully and liberally with them, manifest not only an extreme interest in them, but also a doubt of some of his executors' goodwill towards them. The alleged nuncupative will of October 1590, making William Bird his sole executor, and eliminating all mention of Anne Sachfeilde and the £300 and her household goods bequeathed to her, as well as the "sobers," and reducing the share of her children from £200 to a little over £60 each, fell far short of William Bird's "true will and meaning" expressed under his own hand only three months before. Whatever grounds for doubts Mayor Bird may have had in the integrity of his executors, a comparison of the wills of Edward Bird, William Bird, Junior, and Miles Jackson shows that his evidently greater confidence in Miles Jackson was not misplaced, or else, that the early deaths of all of Bird's lawful children,¹ coupled with the judgment of God invoked by the Mayor in his will on the improper fulfilment of his "will and meaning," had a salutary effect upon Jackson's conscience.

In searching for the Davenants in London and in tracing out John of Oxford's brothers and sisters, I endeavoured to ascertain which, if any, could be the "sister Hatton" mentioned in his will. I could find only two sisters, which were Kathryn, who was nine years his junior, being baptized on 24th October 1574, and Mary, who is mentioned in a will as Mary Marshall. Finding a Timothy Hatton in the registers of St. Martin's at Oxford, who occupied a shop next door to the Tavern, I supposed it probable that he was the husband of Davenant's "sister Hatton," and that she had probably come from London to help Davenant in the conduct of the Tavern or Inn, or both, at the time

¹ All of them had died by 1597.

he separated from his first wife—which I have always dated in 1597–8, but which later developments show to have occurred in 1596—and that at a later period his sister had married Hatton. Hatton's will at Somerset House, however, shows that his wife's name was Joan. This did not necessarily negative the possible fact that Davenant had a sister named Joan, as the registers of All Hallows and St. Thomas the Apostle—the parishes in which I found the Davenants—are by no means complete. Had Joan Hatton been John Davenant's sister it is very probable I would have found some mention of her in the numerous wills I examined. However, I was now compelled to abandon the quest of "sister Hatton" as a blind lead, though I continued to be mystified by the terms Davenant uses in describing "sister Hatton's" past relations with him and his wife. This portion of his will reads: "And to the intent that this my devise of keeping my house as a tavern for the better relief of my children may take the better effect according to my meaning, in consideration that my three daughters being maidens can hardly rule a thing of such consequence, my will is that my *sister Hatton*, if it stand with her good liking, may come with her youngest son and lye and table at my house with my children till Thomas Hallom comes out of his years, for the better comforting and countenancing of my three daughters and to have her said diet free and five pounds a year in money, *knowing her to have been always to me and my wife loving just and kind.*"

The word "just" in the concluding sentence had always seemed to me to suggest that others had, in his opinion, been unjust to him and his wife, and that the word applied to the attitude taken by "sister Hatton" upon his second

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marriage, which others had criticised. I had, however, dismissed sister Hatton and Oxford research from my mind when, in Miles Jackson's will at Bristol, she appeared again as Jackson's "sister Hatton," thus furnishing definite evidence of John Davenant's marriage to her sister. In this will, which was executed in 1616, she is mentioned twice. I quote the second mention, which so significantly echoes a phrase from the will of William Bird: "Item, I give unto my *sister Hatton* fortie shillings a year during her life to be paid out of the farm of Combhay, the first year by Elinor my wife¹ and after by my son William, *which I charge them both as they will answer before God trulie to perform*. Item, I give unto her further the sum of ten pounds to be paid unto her within three months next after my decease." Though Jackson leaves a considerable estate and makes a large number of bequests, this is the only instance where he invokes the judgment of God to ensure its fulfilment. The reasons for this are plainly evident in view of sister Hatton's identity as Marie Sachfeilde, when we consider the similar earnest injunction imposed upon him as the leading executor of his will, by William Bird, where he invokes him to be true to his trust regarding his five natural children, "even as you will make answer at the tribunal seat of the most highest," and remember how far short of Mayor Bird's "will and meaning," in this respect, came the actual execution of his will.

In the arbitrament of Mayor Bird's will there was evidently collusion, for ends of their own, on the part of some of his executors and heirs, and the evidence seems to point to some understanding between William Lavington—who was one of the five natural children—William

¹ This refers to Jackson's second wife.

Bird and Miles Jackson, as all three of these by the terms of the nuncupative will, which were evidently closer to those of the arbitrament than the written will, received more than had originally been assigned to them. William Bird, Junior, seems to have secured the lion's share of the estate, as well as the residue after the bequests had been paid. The arbitrament, however, and the Mayor's injunction to his executors appear to have troubled Miles Jackson, who apparently pensioned Marie Sachfeilde during his life, and at his death left her ten pounds and an annuity of forty shillings a year for life ; admonishing his heirs regarding this particular bequest in terms practically identical with those in which his father-in-law had admonished him twenty-six years before. Anne Sachfeilde and probably also her brother, William Sachfeilde, and their mother, had died in the intervening years. Divorces being then unobtainable, Davenant could not have married again by 1600—1 had his former wife not already been dead ; though I find no record of her death.

Some verses reprinted by Halliwell-Phillipps in his *Outlines*, from a manuscript volume of miscellanies, preserved in the library of the Earl of Warwick, give evidence that Davenant was interested in his second wife for some time before their marriage, which was, no doubt, delayed by the fact that his first wife still lived.

A poem " on Mr. Davenentt, who died att Oxford in his Maioralty a fortnight after his wife," reads as follows :

Well, since th'art deade, if thou canst mortalls heare, |
 Take this just tribute of a funerall teare ; | Each day I see a
 corse, and now no knell | Is more familiare then a passing-bell ; |
 All die, no fix'd inheritance men have, | Save that they are
 freeholders to the grave. | Only I truly greive, when vertues
 brood | Becomes wormes meate, and is the cankers foode. |

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Alas, that unrelenting death should bee | At odds with good-
 nesse ! Fairest budds we see | Are soonest cropp't ; who
 know the fewest crimes, | Tis theire prerogative to die bee-
 times, | Enlarged from this worlds misery ; and thus hee, |
 whom we now waile, made hast to bee made free. | There
 needed no loud hyperbole to sett him foorth, | Nor Sawcy
 elegy to bellowe his worth ; | His life was an encomium large
 enough ; | True gold doth neede no foyles to sett itt off. |
 Hee had choyce giftes of nature and of arte ; | Neither was
 Fortune wanting on her parte | To him in honours, wealth
 or progeny : | Hee was on all sides blest. Why should hee
 dye ? | And yett why should he live, his mate being gone, |
 And turtle-like sigh out an endlese moone ? | No no, hee
 loved her better, *and would not | So easely lose what he so
 hardly gott.* | Hee liv'd to pay the last rites to his bride ; |
 That done hee pin'd out fourteene dayes and died. | Thrice
 happy paire ! Oh, could my simple verse | Reare you a
 lasting trophée ore your hearse, | You should vie yeares with
 time ; had you your due, | Eternety were as short-liv'd as
 you. | Farewell, and, in one grave, now you are deade, |
 Sleepe ondisturb'd as in your marriage bed.

The lines which I have italicised above apparently apply to the reasons I suggest for the delayed marriage.

Marie Sachfeilde being the "sister Hatton" of John Davenant's and Miles Jackson's wills, it is now clear that Anne Sachfeilde the younger was Davenant's first wife ; the *Avisa* of *Willobie his Avisa*, and the "dark lady" of Shakespeare's Sonnets ; and that Davenant married her sometime after October 1590, when Mayor Bird died, and before July 1592, when William Hough and his son took out the leases for the Crosse Inn and Tavern for a term of forty years ; and that the early relations between her, Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton, depicted in *Willobie his Avisa*, and suggested in the third *book* of sonnets, existed before the first publication of *Willobie his Avisa* in 1594, and consequently that Shakespeare's third *book* of sonnets pertains to the same period.

In the light of Anne Sachfeilde's identity as Avis a many things become clear in *Willobie his Avis a*, *Penelope's Complaint* and *The Victory of English Chastity*—all of which are palpably Roydon's work—which I have hitherto found it difficult to account for as applied to William Bird's legitimate daughter, Anne, who received £500 by the terms of the nuncupative will, and probably more by the arbitrament. In some early cantos in *Willobie his Avis a*, Roydon pictures Avis a as being endowed by the gods with beauty, grace and wit ; wealth being left to Juno to bestow, who, however, from jealousy withholds it.

When Juno view'd her luring grace,
 Olde Juno blusht to see a new,
 She fear'd least Jove would like this face,
 And so perhaps might play untrew,
 They all admir'd so sweete a sight,
 They all envide so rare a wight.

When Juno came to give her wealth,
 (Which wanting beauty, wants her life)
 She cryde, this face needes not my pelffe,
 Great riches sow the seedes of strife :
 I doubt not some Olympian power
 Will fill her lap, with Golden shower.

While I still imagined the legitimate Anne to be Avis a's original, I imputed this, and other things that run counter to the facts with her as the original of the story, to Roydon's lack of knowledge of details ; but it is now very evident that he was a very minute and prying gossip, as well as an avid scandalmonger, and that he was thoroughly well acquainted with all the actual facts of the case and knew that Anne Sachfeilde had expectations of fortune that were not fully materialised.

Further on, he presents Avis a before her marriage

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as serving in a tavern, where she is courted by a nobleman.

And there she dwels in publique eye,
Shut up from none that list to see ;
She answeres all that list to try,
Both high and low of each degree :
But few that come, but feele her dart,
And try her well ere they depart.

The nobleman being repulsed by Avisá, his compliments and praises change to abuse.

Thou beggars brat, thou dunghill mate,
Thou clownish spawne, thou country gill,
My love is turned to wreakfull hate,
Go hang, and keepe thy credit still,
Gad where thou list, aright or wrong,
I hope to see thee begge, erre long.

That all of this conversation has taken place in a tavern is shown in the following verse :

Mine ears have heard your taunting words,
Of yeelding fooles by you betraid,
Amongst your mates at open bords,
Know'st such a wife ? know'st such a maid ?
Then must you laugh, then must you winke,
And leave the rest for them to thinke.

Then again, in *The Victory of English Chastity* appended to *Willobie his Avisá* in 1596, it is said :

Avisá, both by Syre and spouse,
Was linckt to men of meanest trade.

and in the Latin verses written by Samuel Daniel and prefaced to *Penelope's Complaint*, we learn again that Avisá was the daughter, as well as the wife, of a tavernkeeper.

. . . Avisá
conjux cauponis, filia pandochei.

It is evident, then, that William Sachfeilde, who is described in William Bird's will as mercer, or else his wife,

conducted a tavern in Bristol, which was furnished and stocked by William Bird, who bequeaths to Anne Sachfeilde "all of her household stuffe now in her possession," and in a marginal note written after 1583, but before the death of William Sachfeilde, informs us that Sachfeilde had already had £300 from him, "which is lost long sithence."¹

It is likely, then, that the idea of conducting an inn or tavern owed its inception in John Davenant's mind to his wife's previous experience in Bristol, where, according to Roydon, she had already won popularity in this capacity.

Mr. Leeds' research gives good evidence that the relations between the Crosse Inn and Tavern were close for many years before William Hough and his son took out leases in 1592. The new leases of the Houghs taken out in 1592 and the foregoing facts and deductions, coupled with John Davenant's long subsequent association as sub-lessee with this family, give good evidence that from 1592 onwards for some years, John Davenant and his wife conducted the Tavern, and were in some way associated also with the Crosse Inn, and that during those years these properties operated in some manner conjointly; this being the reason why the Tavern was not known by any more distinguishing name than "The Tavern." That such a combination between the two

¹ The fact that Sachfeilde is mentioned as mercer in William Bird's will does not militate against his having conducted a tavern. The Oxford records of this period show that many of the inn and tavernkeepers are mentioned also as mercers, booksellers, furriers, etc. In fact, it seems probable that taverns, *i.e.* wine-shops, as distinguished from inns, were conducted largely by women at that period. The following note, which I find in the State Papers, probably refers to William Sachfeilde:

"January 2, 1585. *Bristol*.—Information sent to the Council (?) by the farmer of the custom on wines, of the landing of wines at the creek called Ilfordcombe by title of a grant made to one Sachfeild: state of law in such cases."

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properties existed, and for a prolonged term of years, is evidenced by the fact that though they have long since been separated the present occupants of the properties, included originally in the Tavern premises, which face on Cornmarket Street and in the Tavern garden, the front end of which faces on High Street,—running at right angles to the Tavern property,—continue to possess right-of-way through the Crosse innyard into Cornmarket Street; the only others possessing this right being the occupants of the Crosse Inn and the occupants of a piece of property immediately to the north of the Crosse Inn, the rear end of which was originally a portion of the Crosse innyard and stables. This right-of-way evidently became established by usage during the years that these several properties were operated together. While it is evident that Davenant possessed—possibly through a sublease—some right in the control of the Crosse Inn property in late years, as we find him named as the occupier in a lease dated in 1619,—already quoted,—it appears equally evident that if he ever conducted the Crosse Inn, he had ceased to operate it and had narrowed his activities down to the conduct of the Tavern after he separated from his first wife. A number of indications point to the year 1596 as the date of this occurrence.

When Roydon issued *Willobie his Avis* in 1594, he reported Avis as a paragon of virtue; all of her would-be lovers retire discomfited from the field. In the edition of 1596 he issued additional matter, such as *The Apologie*, *The Victory of English Chastity*, and also published *Penelope's Complaint*—the latter under the pseudonym of Peter Colse. In these additions and in *Penelope's Complaint* he becomes more daring and suggests that Avis may not be all that

he previously reported, and allows Samuel Daniel specifically to name her as "Anne." It is not likely that he would have gone to such lengths had the disruption between Davenant and his wife not already taken place, or gossip regarding their relations not, in some way, have become greatly accentuated. In this same year Pierce Underhill, William Hough's brother-in-law, whom we find in the possession and occupation of the Crosse Inn at the time of his death in 1604, was granted a licence to sell wine and keep an inn by the Chancellor of the University. His will shows also that he now owned the lease of the Crosse Inn, taken out by William Hough in 1592. William Hough died in 1593; his widow, who inherited the lease, was Pierce Underhill's sister. Underhill states in his will, in 1603-4, that this lease "was made over and conveyed to me by John Staunton, who came by the same lease by the marriage of Joan Hough, widow." Underhill's licence from the University in 1596 to sell wine and keep an inn does not, however, necessarily mean that he was starting in a new venture at this time, as it is quite likely that he previously held licences from the City, or had worked under a licence held by his brother-in-law, William Hough, Senior, who had the Crosse Inn from the time his first lease was taken out in 1574 until at least 1592, when he took out a new forty-year lease or, at latest, until his death in 1593, when Pierce Underhill probably succeeded him. It is very likely that Underhill had previously conducted the Tavern from 1583, when his brother, Dr. Underhill, first leased it until 1592, when William Hough, Senior, took out a new forty-year lease for the Crosse Inn, and William Hough, Junior, a forty-year lease for the Tavern, and that now, William Hough, Senior,

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retiring from the Inn, subleased it to his brother-in-law, Pierce Underhill; his son, William Hough, Junior, by prearrangement, subleasing the Tavern to Davenant at the same time.

There must have been an unusual charm about all of the Sachfeilde women. Slight as is the light thrown upon the personality of Marie Sachfeilde, the respectful, yet affectionate and solicitous, mentions of her as "sister Hatton" in Miles Jackson's and John Davenant's wills, suggest strength and dignity of character and a winsome and gentle nature. The remarkable fascination and charm of her sister Anne—who married Davenant, and who, if Roydon reports truly, was more sinned against than sinning—are fully attested by Roydon even in satire, and by Shakespeare, inferentially, in his plays, and directly in his Sonnets. Eliminating a few female characters from Shakespeare's plays whose minds and lives were distorted from the normal by exceptional circumstances or environment, and conceiving a composite woman formed from the remainder, where do we find in literature such womanliness, charm and truth to nature as he presents? It is doubtful if any woman that ever came into his life had so much influence in creating this basic feminine ideal as Anne Sachfeilde. Much of this woman's remarkable fascination must have been inherited from her mother, of whom William Bird writes so frequently and solicitously in his will; and who even through the months of evident separation imposed by the long sickness preceding his death, and while he was under the constant influence of his legitimate family, appears to have held fast his interest and affection. The lack of mention of her in the alleged nuncupative will gives—in the writer's opinion—strong evidence of its fraudulent nature.

CHAPTER VI

THE THIRD BOOK OF SONNETS. 1593-4

WITH the 1596 edition of *Willobie his Avis* Roydon included some prose matter entitled "The Apologie, shewing the true meaning of Willobie his Avis."

In this he pretends to take issue with an otherwise unknown author named Peter Colse, which name he attached to a poem published in this same year, called *Penelope's Complaint, or a Mirrour for wanton Minions*, in which he refers critically to *Willobie his Avis* and to the reputation of Avis at that time. I have elsewhere shown that this poem was written by Roydon and that Shakespeare recognised its true authorship and pilloried Roydon as Peter Quince, the ballad-maker, in a revision of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. I have also made it evident that this poem was published at the same time that a new edition of *Willobie his Avis* was issued in order more definitely to identify Avis's original. In "The Apologie" to the new edition of *Willobie his Avis* of 1596, Roydon, referring to the alleged Peter Colse, writes: "Now therefore the latine word of a Birde being *Avis*, and the Author (perchance) alluding unto that, did the rather call, his victorious mounting victory of Vertue, by the name of *Avis*, as alluding to his owne allusion. If any man therefore by this, should take occasion to surmise, that the Author meant to note *any woman whose name sounds something*

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like that name, it is too childish and absurd, and not befitting any deep judgement, considering there are many things, which cannot be applied to any woman.

“ But to conclude, thus much I dare precisely avouch, that the Author intended in this discourse, *neither the description or prayse of any particular woman ; nor the naming or cyphering of any particular man*. But in generall under a fained name insinuateth what godly and constant women should doe, and say in such lewde temptations. And also, under fained letters, generally expresseth, what course most of these lawlesse suters take, in pursuit of their fancied fooleries, and therefore this P. C. hath offered manifest injurie to some, what ever they bee, whom his private fancie hath secretly framed in conceit.”

From the words I have italicised above, and the peculiar signatures to two Epistles and several poems prefixed to *Willobie his Avisa*, as well as the otherwise unaccountable use he makes of capitals and italics, it had frequently occurred to me that Roydon might have used cryptograms or ciphers ; but I must confess to very little knowledge of the use of ciphers, besides which, so much pseudo-Shakespearean, or alleged Baconian, argument has been based upon imaginary ciphers that this field of research did not attract me. Shortly after the publication of *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, in 1913, Professor Bang of Louvain University, a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, in an *Academy Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, following my argument, announced among other findings in regard to Roydon, his discovery that he had twice ciphered his signature in anagrams appended to introductory matter prefixed to *Willobie his*

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Avisa. Herewith I give a rough translation of a portion of Professor Bang's interesting matter :

" In revealing Roydon as the author of *Willobie his Avisa*, Acheson has lifted a nonentity out of oblivion and placed him temporarily in the forefront of Shakespearean investigation."

" After repeated and critical examination of Acheson's material I have come to the conclusion that *Willobie his Avisa* was indeed written by Matthew Roydon, and wish to support the internal evidences already advanced by Acheson by a little post-festum proof that I trust will dissipate whatever doubts may still remain.

" The fictitious editor of *Willobie his Avisa* signs himself

HADRIAN DORRELL.

In this I recognise merely an anagram for Harral(l)d Roiden ; Harrald is a modification of Herald, mentioned by *N.E.D.*, the double 'l' in Dorrell carried over by me in parenthesis into Harral(l)d owes its existence to the fact that in the English end-sound double 'l' is preferably used. Roiden, finally, is a modification of the spelling of this name well authenticated in other instances.

" Furthermore, immediately before the text of *Willobie his Avisa* are placed commendatory verses, ' In Prayse of Willobie his Avisa ' ; they are signed

Contraria Contrariis :

Vigilantius Dormitanus.

" If we strike out the Latin endings there remain

Vigilant Dormitan,

which latter is again an anagram for Mt. Roidan, the 'a' of which spelling is not startling, as we find—*morrian, murrain*

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and *morion*, and again *garran*, *garron*, and *lurdan*, *lurdon*, etc. The 'Vigilant' gives us the key for the 'Herald' in the other signature. I am, says Roydon, an observer and a Herald or announcer—perhaps not particularly ingenious but yet comprehensible in view of his *Avisa's* satirical contents." ¹

Professor's Bang's acute recognition of Roydon's signature recalled to me the fact that the first three words in the first line of the same verses to which he had found Roydon's name signed as "Vigilant Mt. Roidan" had always struck me on reading them as strangely suggestive of the name "Davenant"; the name of the husband of the woman, whom by internal evidence in *Willobie his Avisa*, linked with the gossip of John Aubrey, I had been led to propose as the original for the "dark lady" of the Sonnets. This line reads as follows :

In Lavine land though Livie boast.

Then again the "I" of "In" as it is printed in the original text appears quite as much like a capital J as an I, making the word "In" with which the line begins appear like an abbreviation of the Christian name of the vintner. I also recalled the fact that in the time of Elizabeth, and even later, the letters "I" and "J" were interchangeable, as all old dictionaries show.

¹ The "Vigilant" and the "Herald" used here by Roydon become comprehensible in the light of his already established reputation as a pamphleteer amongst his university contemporaries. The Oxford libels already referred to, and no doubt other still undiscovered products of his pen of a similar nature, evidently revealed his identity to his friends. Roydon's "vigilance" was largely supplemented by a nasty mind. According to his account a large number of leading men in the University, including Doctors of Divinity, were engaged in illicit relations with the wives and daughters of the hosts of most of the leading inns and taverns of Oxford.

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Using the capital I as a capital J and transposing the letters as far as the "t" in "though," we find the words

ILL JN DAVENANT,

the name of the husband of the woman whose relations with Shakespeare and others is the subject of the satire in the poem to which these verses are prefixed. It may not be merely a coincidence that the remainder of the word "though" makes the name Hough. This also was probably meant indicatively by Roydon as an allusion to Davenant's business connection with, or possible relationship to, the Houghs.

Now let us read the first two of these verses :

In Lavine land though Livie boast,
There have beene seene a Constant Dame :
Though Rome lament that she have lost
The Garland of her rarest fame,
Yet now ye see that heere is found,
As great a Faith in English ground :

Though Collatine have dearly bought,
To high renowne a lasting life,
And found, that most in vaine have sought,
To have a faire and Constant wife.
Yet Tarquine pluckt his glittering grape,
And Shake-speare paints poore Lucrece rape.

This is the earliest known mention of Shakespeare's name in contemporary literature. In the first line of these verses we find John Davenant's name, and signed to them we have "Mt. Roidan." Here we have an epitome of the argument of *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*.

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In view of the facts that *Willobie his Avis* was published in September 1594, and that *Lucrece*, which is mentioned in the introductory verses quoted above, was published four months earlier in the same year, and with the grateful and friendly tone of Shakespeare's dedication of this poem to Southampton borne in mind, it appears evident that the incidents in the lives of Shakespeare and Southampton, satirised in the first issue of *Willobie his Avis*, must have taken place some time previous to May 1594. It is presumable then that *Willobie his Avis* had circulated in MS. before its publication, and very evident that the following sonnet of Shakespeare's was written at about the same time. Southampton's early entanglement with the "dark lady" was a temporary affair and marks only a passing phase of the sonnet period, which latter lasted seven years. I date the Southampton embroglio some time between September 1592 and March or April 1594, and place the composition of this sonnet, which is in the series to the "dark lady," within this interval.

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
Which like two spirits do suggest me still :
The better angel is a man right fair,
The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill.
To win me soon to hell, my female evil
Tempteth my better angel from my side,
And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,
Wooing his purity with her foul pride.
And whether that my angel be turn'd fiend
Suspect I may, yet not directly tell ;
But being both from me, both to each friend,
I guess one angel in another's hell :
Yet this shall I ne'er know, but live in doubt,
Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

That Shakespeare was cognizant of Roydon's anagrams

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is, I believe, shown in *Love's Labour's Lost*, which I will show was revised late in 1594 or early in 1595, shortly after the publication of *Willobie his Avis*, and again in 1598.

In this play Matthew Roydon is caricatured as the curate Nathaniel. The following verses from this play are absolutely nonsensical unless they held a topical significance.

The word sore with the l added, making sorel, and more with an l making morel, are, I believe, introduced to rhyme with Dorrell.

The preyful princess pierced and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket ;
Some say a sore ; but not a sore, till now made sore with shooting.
The dogs did yell : put L to sore, then sorel jumps from thicket ;
Or pricket sore, or else sorel ; the people fall a hooting.
If sore be sore, then L to sore makes fifty sores one sorel.
Of one sore I an hundred make by adding but one more L.

In the following lines of a sonnet from the third *book*, which I date at this period,¹ Shakespeare also shows knowledge that Roydon's poem had circulated in MS. form before its publication :

How sweet and lovely dost thou make the shame
Which, like a canker in the fragrant rose,
Doth spot the beauty of thy budding name !
O, in what sweets dost thou thy sins enclose !
That tongue that tells the story of thy days,
Making lascivious comments on thy sport,
Cannot dispraise but in a kind of praise ;
Naming thy name blesses an ill report.

Roydon in *Willobie his Avis*, as well as in a number of other poems, with all his affected piety and vaunted

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet.*

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morality champions chastity with such pornographic unction that we naturally doubt his sincerity. He protests too much, and gambols so pleasurably with his subject that he fails to carry conviction. It is evident that the whole poem, to which he has given the title of *Willobie his Avis*, was not originally inspired by the Southampton-Shakespeare-Dark Lady episode, but that he had already written, or was at work upon, a poem dealing with his favourite subject of chastity, and, strange as it may seem, probably celebrating the same original for Avis, but with no satirical or defamatory reflection against her at that time, when he and his friend Chapman—evidently through information furnished by Florio—became aware of the conditions in Southampton's affairs, and that he then introduced the late cantos of the poem which deal with this phase of the story, added some indicative verses to the first canto and a few lines through the poem, and also prefixed his more pointed verses, mentioning Shakespeare and ciphering Davenant, as well as his "Address to the Reader," and bestowed his title with its significant initials. In the first canto nearly all the verses from the eighth to the thirtieth, inclusive, appear to have been introduced to suit his purpose; though one or two of these seem to have been retained from the older poem. In the canto referring to Henry Willobie and W. S., I now find what I believe to be a definite allusion to the Crosse Inn by name.

From ground plans of the Crosse Inn and Tavern of the year 1628, only six years after Davenant's death, when his daughter, Jane, and Thomas Hallom still occupied the latter, I learn that the land upon which they were built was about one hundred and eighty feet wide, and that there

was a pathway, walled on each side, leading from the back of the Tavern to a small walled garden called the Tavern Garden. This walk and garden are, I believe, indicated by Roydon in the following verses, which are supposed to be written by H. W. to Avisia :

I saw your gardens passing fine,
 With pleasant flowres lately deckt,
 With Cowslips, and with Eglantine,
 When wofull Woodbine lies reject :
 Yet these in weeds and bryers doe meete,
 Although they seeme to smell so sweete.

Farewell that sweete and pleasant *walke*,
 The wnesse of my faith and woe,
 That oft hath heard our friendly talke,
 And gave me leave my griefe to show :
 O pleasant path, where I could see,
 No crosse at all but onely thee.

The wall on the north side of the walk separated and hid the Crosse Inn from the walk and garden.

Upon a recent visit to Oxford, while walking in the Crosse innyard discussing the antiquity of the inn with a resident of the city, who was quite oblivious of the nature of my interest in the inn, I told him that from ancient ground plans of the Crosse inn property and of the property next door to the south, I had learned that in the time of Elizabeth there was a small walled garden at the back end of the property to the south—indicating a point in the Crosse innyard wall where I thought the garden used to lie—when he opened a door in the wall which I had not previously noticed and took me through the wall into the “dark lady’s” garden, which is still there though partially built upon at the southern end. The wall bounding it at

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the eastern end is evidently from, or before, Davenant's time. It seems strange that in this, the most crowded business section of Oxford, a large portion of the Tavern Garden shown in the accompanying sketch should still be unbuilt upon.

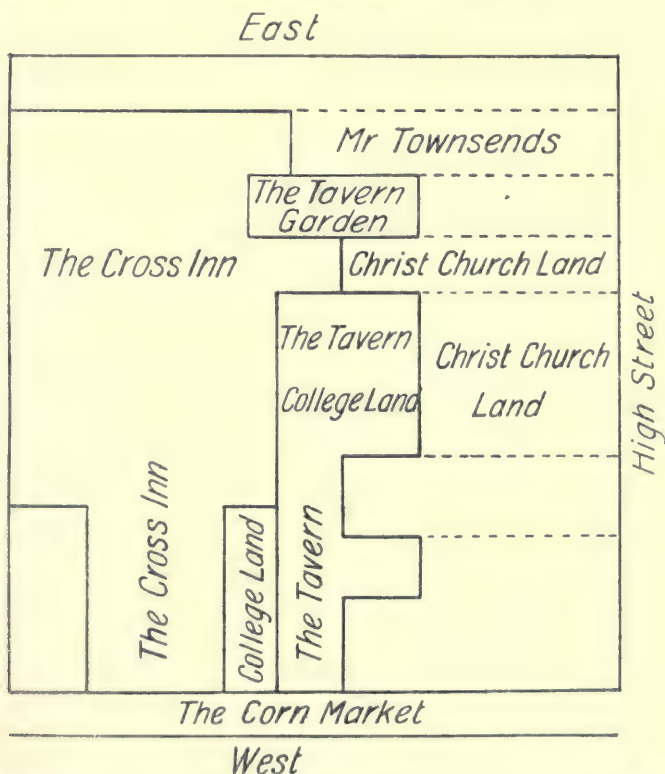
The foregoing facts and deductions are my warrant for dating the composition of the twelve sonnets which now remain of the original twenty of the third *book*, between about the middle of 1593 and the late spring of 1594. They plainly pertain to the same persons and incidents as *Willobie his Avis*, the latter, however, being distorted to Shakespeare's discredit by Roydon, who attempts to reflect him in much the same light in his relations with Southampton as Shakespeare presents Florio.

The fact that eight sonnets are missing from this *book* makes it impossible now correctly to gauge the argument or attitude of the complete *book*, and did we not possess *Lucrece* and the plays written by Shakespeare at and about the same period, and while his mind was influenced by Southampton's affairs, the unpleasantly acquiescent spirit of some of these sonnets might appear to lend colour to Roydon's suggestions regarding Shakespeare's rôle in the affair.

Roydon's spiteful slurs are, however, entirely disproved by the palpable intention of the pictures which Shakespeare at this time draws for his patron's benefit of the wifely modesty and stainless chastity of *Lucrece*, and by contrast of the brutalising nature of lust in his representation of *Tarquin*, as well as by the manner in which he reflects these same conditions in the plays produced at this period. In his revision of *Edward III.* and the introduction of the King and Countess episode, which clearly pertains to this

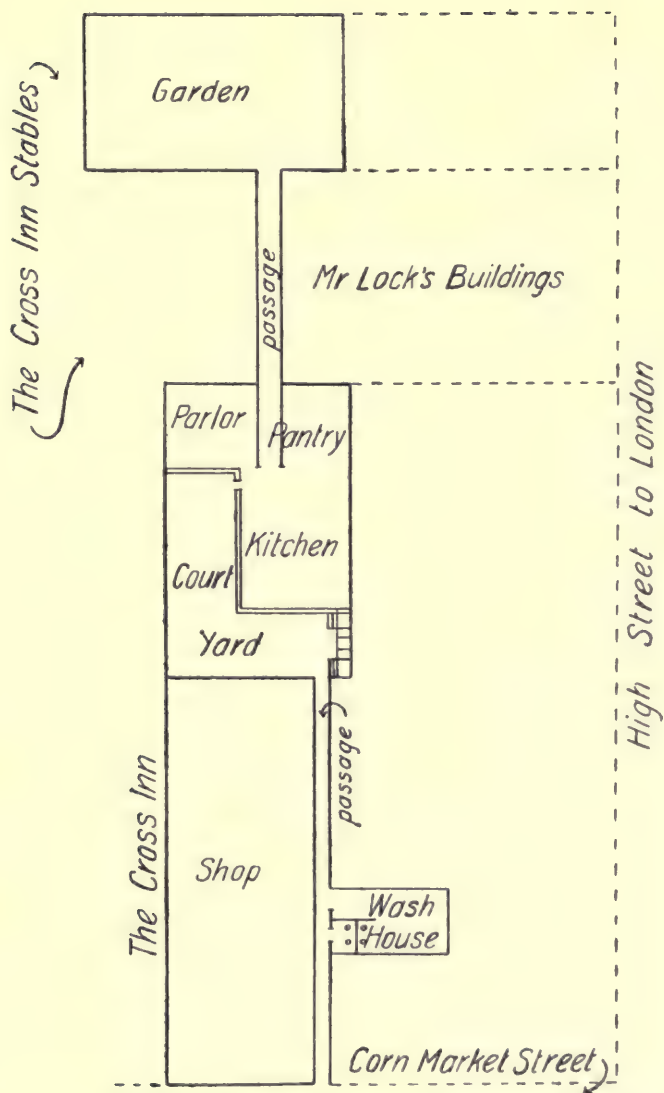
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year, he again exhibits for Southampton's benefit the stultifying effect of unbridled passion upon a noble nature. In popular estimation Edward III. was then regarded as the flower and exemplar of English royalty.



PLAN TAKEN BY MR. MAN, S. WARDEN. 21ST JULY 1628.

There is not only a remarkable resemblance between the ideas, imagery and diction of the third *book* of sonnets and the portion of *Edward III.* containing the King and the Countess episode, but in one instance a parallel of a com-



A PLAN OF MR. CLARKE'S HOUSE, SHOP, BUILDINGS, GARDEN AND PREMISES, HELD BY LEASE UNDER NEW COLLEGE, ABUTTING ON THE CORN-MARKETT STREET, OXFORD, 1779.

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plete line. The 94th sonnet in Thorpe's arrangement, which is plainly a portion of the third *book*, ends with the line :

Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

which is repeated in *Edward III.* It is put into the mouth of the Earl of Warrick when he revolts at the unnatural task put upon him by the King, of acting as pander to the dishonour of his own daughter :

WAR. A spacious field of reasons could I urge
Between his glory, daughter, and thy shame :
That poison shows worst in a golden cup ;
Dark night seems darker by the lightning-flash ;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds ;
And every glory that inclines to sin,
The shame is treble by the opposite.

Edward III. was an old play in 1593-4, and had been a Burbage property for several years. It is alluded to by Greene in 1590, in the first part of *Never Too Late*, when he criticises Alleyn's classical knowledge and says "the Cobbler" has taught him how to say "Ave Cæsar." This is a reference to Marlowe, whose father was a shoemaker, and "Ave Cæsar" appears in *Edward III.* and in no other known play of the period. It was retained as a Burbage property and evidently for the use of Pembroke's company when Alleyn and Strange's men went to Henslowe in 1592. While Shakespeare's revision of this play—after Marlowe's death—in 1593-4, with Southampton's relations with the "dark lady" in mind, materially changed it and reduced its Marlowesque flavour, enough of Marlowe's work still remains to warrant the ascription to him of its original composition. Many passages bear a close resemblance in thought and diction to Marlowe's *Edward II.* The following passage is palpably from his pen and also

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contains the germ of an idea which he develops in *Edward II.* :

Edward III., Act I. Scene ii.—

Thou dost not tell him, what a grief it is
To be the scornful captive to a Scot ;
Either to be woo'd with broad untuned oaths,
Or forc'd by rough insulting barbarism :
Thou dost not tell him, if he here prevail,
How much they will deride us in the north ;
And, in their vild, uncivil, skipping jigs,
Bray forth their conquest and our overthrow,
Even in the barren, bleak, and fruitless air.

An example of the “ vild, uncivil, skipping jigs ” of the Scots, which he had in mind in the passage quoted above, is given in the following passage from *Edward II.*, where this idea is repeated :

Act. II. Scene ii.—

And therefore came it, that the fleering Scots,
To England's high disgrace, have made this jig ;
“ Maids of England, sore may you mourn,—
For your lemans you have lost at Bannocksbourn,—
With a heave and a ho !
What weeneth the King of England,
So soon to have won Scotland ?—
With a rombelow ! ”

As reflecting Southampton's relations to Shakespeare and the “ dark lady,” at this period I also assign the composition of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, which I date late in 1593, or early in 1594, after Shakespeare had become fully cognizant of Southampton's culpability. The unpleasant self-abnegation of the third *book* of sonnets is paralleled in Valentine's unnatural surrender of Silvia

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to Proteus, but owing to the derangement of the *book* of sonnets the spirit of this action is better explained in the play. It was, in fact, the turning of the other cheek to a loved, youthful and noble-spirited, but thoughtless, offender, with the intention of shocking his finer sensibilities to a realisation of the grossness of his fault. In the third *book* of sonnets this phase of the affair is epitomised in the following sonnet (Thorpe 40) :

Take all my loves, my love, yea, take them all ;
What hast thou then more than thou hadst before ?
No love, my love, that thou mayst true love call ;
All mine was thine before thou hadst this more.
Then, if for my love thou my love receivest,
I cannot blame thee for my love thou usest ;
But yet be blamed, if thou thyself deceivest
By wilful taste of what thyself refusest.
I do forgive thy robbery, gentle thief,
Although thou steal thee all my poverty ;
And yet, love knows, it is a greater grief
To bear love's wrong than hate's known injury.
Lascivious grace, in whom all ill well shows,
Kill me with spites ; yet we must not be foes.

That this pretended surrender was made after Southampton had admitted his fault is shown in the following sonnet :

Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
And make me travel forth without my cloak,
To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke ?
'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break,
To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face,
For no man well of such a salve can speak
That heals the wound and cures not the disgrace :
Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief ;
Though thou repent, yet I have still the loss :
The offender's sorrow lends but weak relief
To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
Ah, but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds.

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In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Valentine's protest against a similar infidelity on the part of his friend Proteus, with Proteus' admission of his guilt and shame, as well as Valentine's forgiveness and his offer to surrender "all that was mine in Silvia" to Proteus, reproduce almost exactly the disagreeable incident of the sonnets.

VAL. Thou common friend, that's without faith or love,
For such is a friend now ; treacherous man !
Thou hast beguiled my hopes ; nought but mine eye
Could have persuaded me : now I dare not say
I have one friend alive ; thou wouldst disprove me.
Who should be trusted now, when one's right hand
Is perjured to the bosom ? Proteus,
I am sorry I must never trust thee more,
But count the world a stranger for thy sake.
The private wound is deepest : O time most accurst,
'Mongst all foes that a friend should be the worst !

PRO. My shame and guilt confounds me.
Forgive me, Valentine : if hearty sorrow
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,
I tender't here ; I do as truly suffer
As e'er I did commit.

VAL. Then I am paid ;
And once again I do receive thee honest.
Who by repentance is not satisfied
Is nor of heaven nor earth, for these are pleased.
By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeased :
And, that my love may appear plain and free,
All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona was written by Shakespeare not only with the incidents revealed in the sonnets in mind, but, I believe, with the same purpose as the sonnets, as also of *Lucrece* and the revision of *Edward III.*—the awakening of his friend and patron to a sense of honour. That Valentine's unnatural offer to surrender his interest in Silvia to Proteus shocked Shakespeare's own sense of the

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fitness of things, and his evident intention to make this offer of surrender stand out as a supreme sacrifice to friendship, is clearly shown in the vivid contrast displayed between Valentine's offer to surrender Silvia to his friend Proteus, and his instant and fiery defiance of Thurio, when he in turn claimed Silvia, though he was formally betrothed to her and with her father's sanction.

THU. Yonder is Silvia ; and Silvia's mine.

VAL. Thurio, give back, or else embrace thy death ;
Come not within the measure of my wrath ;
Do not name Silvia thine ; if once again,
Verona shall not hold thee. Here she stands :
Take but possession of her with a touch :
I dare thee but to breathe upon my love.

The differences between the *Willobie his Avis* of 1594 and that of 1596, with its scandalously revelatory appendages, and the publication of *Penelope's Complaint* to synchronise with the latter issue, show clearly that *Avisa's* reputation was yet unstained in the earlier year, as at that time even Henry Willobie (Southampton) retires defeated, W. S. (Shakespeare) having been previously repulsed. In this light the apparent self-abnegation of the writer of the sonnets, and of Valentine in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, loses the unpleasant significance that has at times been inferred. Silvia is here, inferentially, the "dark lady," and Thurio inferentially Florio ; Proteus, Southampton ; and Valentine, Shakespeare. The slight development of characterisation in all four persons shows an early stage of the embroglio, and Shakespeare's exquisite song to Silvia reveals as yet an idealistic stage of his awakened interest in her original.

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Who is Silvia ? what is she,
That all our swains commend her ?
Holy, fair, and wise is she ;
The heaven such grace did lend her,
That she might admired be.

Is she kind as she is fair ?
For beauty lives with kindness.
Love doth to her eyes repair,
To help him of his blindness,
And, being help'd, inhabits there.

Then to Silvia let us sing,
That Silvia is excelling ;
She excells each mortal thing
Upon the dull earth dwelling :
To her let us garlands bring.

This song in the phrase " All our swains commend her " appears to reflect knowledge of the existence of *Willobie his Avisa*, but there is no evidence in this play, as there is in *Romeo and Juliet*, that Shakespeare had yet seen it. It appears to have been written at about the same time that some of the sonnets in the third *book* were written to Southampton—those referring to the circulation of scandal concerning Southampton,

That tongue that tells the story of thy days,
Making lascivious comments on thy sport,
Cannot dispraise but in a kind of praise ;
Naming thy name blesses an ill report,

and at about the same time that *The First Part of Henry IV.*, in its earlier form, was written, when Falstaff rallies the Prince about that " most sweet wench," " my hostess of the tavern," and is snubbed for it. This palpably pertains to 1593-5 ; when the play was revised late in 1597 Shakespeare was in no mood for such raillery ; his own disillusionment was then in, or nearing, its bitterest phase,

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Troilus and Cressida—which reflects its climax—being written in the following year. It was apparently not until late in 1596, or early in 1597, that Shakespeare became deeply involved with this woman, and at this time it appears evident that she had left her husband and was in London.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona was published for the first time in the Folio of 1623 ; the only other contemporary record we have of it is its mention by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* in 1598. All commentators agree that it is an early play : it is usually dated 1591-2, though several place it as late as 1594-5. The date I here assign for it (1593-4) not only correlates it with the chronology I outline for the Sonnets, but also aptly fits all the supposed allusions to contemporary history and events that have been suggested by past commentators.

The dating of the play upon textual evidence at an earlier date than 1593-4 is due to the fact that all of the other plays of this period were afterwards revised, and most of them upon more than one occasion. I doubt that this play was ever revised or indeed presented, either publicly or privately, after the conditions it reflects had passed away.

In the light of the foregoing facts it appeared probable that *Henry IV., Part I.*, in an early form displaying Falstaff as Sir John Oldcastle and Mistress Quickly as

My hostess of the tavern, a most sweet wench,

was also composed at this period, but anterior to any of the plays mentioned above, and shortly after *Richard II.*, with which it was intended to link dramatically as well as historically. It was written in the spirit of *Love's Labour's Won*, and as criticising Florio's influence more than South-

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ampton's behaviour, but was so drastically revised in 1595 and again in 1597, shortly following the revision and publication of *Richard II.*, that it is not now possible to show exactly in what manner it reflected the conditions of the period under discussion. It is palpable, however, that in the person of the young and attractive hostess about whom Falstaff rallies the Prince, we have an early reflection of the youthful hostess of the Tavern. The following passage from *Richard II.* was evidently introduced into this play in 1597, in order to connect its action with the revised *Henry IV., Part I.*, which followed soon afterwards. The application of all metrical tests to this passage indicates the period of revision and publication.

Act V. Scene iii.—

BOLING. Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son ?
 'Tis full three months since I did see him last :
 If any plague hang over us, 'tis he.
 I would to God, my lords, he might be found :
 Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there,
 For there, they say, he daily doth frequent,
 With unrestrained loose companions,
 Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,
 And beat our watch, and rob our passengers ;
 Which he, young wanton and effeminate boy,
 Takes on the point of honour to support
 So dissolute a crew.

PERCY. My lord, some two days since I saw the prince,
 And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford.

BOLING. And what said the gallant ?

PERCY. His answer was, he would unto the stews,
 And from the common'st creature pluck a glove,
 And wear it as a favour ; and with that
 He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.

BOLING. As dissolute as desperate ; yet through both
 I see some sparks of better hope, which elder years
 May happily bring forth.

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It is impossible now to give more than an approximate order to the remnant of the third *book* of sonnets which follows. I have placed the two sonnets in which the poet likens himself to a slave at the beginning of the sequence, as the idea links with that of the concluding sonnet of the second *book* :

Lord of my love to whom in *vassalage*,
Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit,

and have followed with the sonnets which show the poet as yet unaware of the full nature of his friend's infidelity, but cognizant of rumours affecting his reputation, and end with those which show that confession has been made and absolution given.

That god forbid that made me first your slave,
I should in thought control your times of pleasure,
Or at your hand the account of hours to crave,
Being your vassal, bound to stay your leisure !
O, let me suffer, being at your beck,
The imprison'd absence of your liberty ;
And patience, tame to sufferance, bide each check,
Without accusing you of injury.
Be where you list, your charter is so strong
That you yourself may privilege your time
To what you will ; to you it doth belong
Yourself to pardon of self-doing crime.

I am to wait, though waiting so be hell,
Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well.

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Book III.
Sonnet ii.

Being your slave, what should I do but tend
Upon the hours and times of your desire ?
I have no precious time at all to spend,
Nor services to do, till you require.
Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you,
Nor think the bitterness of absence sour
When you have bid your servant once adieu ;
Nor dare I question with my jealous thought
Where you may be, or your affairs suppose,
But, like a sad slave, stay and think of nought
Save, where you are how happy you make those.
So true a fool is love that in your will,
Though you do any thing, he thinks no ill.

(Thorpe
lvii.)

Book III.
Sonnet iii.

How sweet and lovely dost thou make the shame
Which, like a canker in the fragrant rose,
Doth spot the beauty of thy budding name !
O, in what sweets dost thou thy sins inclose !
That tongue that tells the story of thy days,
Making lascivious comments on thy sport,
Cannot dispraise but in a kind of praise ;
Naming thy name blesses an ill report.
O, what a mansion have those vices got
Which for their habitation chose out thee,
Where beauty's veil doth cover every blot
And all things turn to fair that eyes can see !
Take heed, dear heart, of this large privilege ;
The hardest knife ill used doth lose his edge.

(Thorpe
xcv.)

Book III. Some say, thy fault is youth, some wantonness ;
 Sonnet iv. Some say, thy grace is youth and gentle sport ;
 Both grace and faults are loved of more and less :
 Thou makest faults graces that to thee resort.
 As on the finger of a throned queen
 The basest jewel will be well esteem'd,
 So are those errors that in thee are seen
 To truths translated and for true things deem'd.
 How many lambs might the stern wolf betray,
 If like a lamb he could his looks translate !
 How many gazers mightst thou lead away,
 If thou wouldst use the strength of all thy state !
 But do not so ; I love thee in such sort,
 As thou being mine, mine is thy good report.

Book III. That thou art blamed shall not be thy defect,
 Sonnet v. For slander's mark was ever yet the fair ;
 The ornament of beauty is suspect,
 A crow that flies in heaven's sweetest air.
 So thou be good, slander doth but approve
 Thy worth the greater, being woo'd of time ;
 For canker vice the sweetest buds doth love,
 And thou present'st a pure unstained prime.
 Thou hast pass'd by the ambush of young days,
 Either not assail'd, or victor being charged ;
 Yet this thy praise cannot be so thy praise,
 To tie up envy evermore enlarged :
 If some suspect of ill mask'd not thy show,
 Then thou alone kingdoms of hearts shouldst owe.

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BOOK III. They that have power to hurt and will do none,
 Sonnet vi. That do not do the thing they most do show,
 Who, moving others, are themselves as stone,
 Unmoved, cold and to temptation slow ;
 They rightly do inherit heaven's graces
 And husband nature's riches from expense ;
 (Thorpe xciv.) They are the lords and owners of their faces,
 Others but stewards of their excellence.
 The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,
 Though to itself it only live and die,
 But if that flower with base infection meet,
 The basest weed outbraves his dignity :
 For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds ;
 Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

BOOK III. Full many a glorious morning have I seen
 Sonnet vii. Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
 Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
 Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy ;
 Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
 With ugly rack on his celestial face,
 (Thorpe xxxiii.) And from the forlorn world his visage hide,
 Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace :
 Even so my sun one early morn did shine
 With all-triumphant splendour on my brow ;
 But, out, alack ! he was but one hour mine,
 The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now.
 Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth ;
 Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun
 staineth.

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BOOK III. Sonnet viii. Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
 And make me travel forth without my cloak,
 To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
 Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke?
 'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break,
 To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face,
 For no man well of such a salve can speak
 That heals the wound and cures not the disgrace:
 Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief;
 Though thou repent, yet I have still the loss:
 The offender's sorrow lends but weak relief
 To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
 Ah, but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
 And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds.

BOOK III. Sonnet ix. No more be grieved at that which thou hast done:
 Roses have thorns, and silver fountains mud;
 Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun,
 And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud.
 All men make faults, and even I in this,
 Authorising thy trespass with compare,
 Myself corrupting, salving thy amiss,
 Excusing thy sins more than thy sins are;
 For to thy sensual fault I bring in sense—
 Thy adverse party is thy advocate—
 And 'gainst myself a lawful plea commence:
 Such civil war is in my love and hate,
 That I an accessary needs must be
 To that sweet thief which sourly robs from me.

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Book III. Take all my loves, my love, yea, take them all ;
 Sonnet x. What hast thou then more than thou hadst before ?
 No love, my love, that thou mayst true love call ;
 All mine was thine before thou hadst this more.
 Then, if for my love thou my love receivest,
 I cannot blame thee for my love thou usest ;
 (Thorpe But yet be blamed, if thou thyself deceivest
 xli.) By wilful taste of what thyself refusest.
 I do forgive thy robbery, gentle thief,
 Although thou steal thee all my poverty :
 And yet, love knows, it is a greater grief
 To bear love's wrong than hate's known injury.
 Lascivious grace, in whom all ill well shows,
 Kill me with spites ; yet we must not be foes.

Book III. Those pretty wrongs that liberty commits,
 Sonnet xi. When I am sometime absent from thy heart,
 Thy beauty and thy years full well befits,
 For still temptation follows where thou art.
 Gentle thou art, and therefore to be won,
 Beauteous thou art, therefore to be assailed ;
 (Thorpe And when a woman woos, what woman's son
 xlii.) Will sourly leave her till she have prevailed ?
 Ay me ! but yet thou mightst my seat forbear,
 And chide thy beauty and thy straying youth,
 Who lead thee in their riot even there
 Where thou art forced to break a twofold truth,
 Hers, by thy beauty tempting her to thee,
 Thine, by thy beauty being false to me.

Sonnet xii. That thou hast her, it is not all my grief,
 And yet it may be said I loved her dearly ;
 That she hath thee, is of my wailing chief,
 A loss in love that touches me more nearly.
 Loving offenders, thus I will excuse ye :
 Thou dost love her, because thou know'st I love her ;
 And for my sake even so doth she abuse me,
 Suffering my friend for my sake to approve her.
 If I lose thee, my loss is my love's gain,
 And losing her, my friend hath found that loss ;
 Both find each other, and I lose both twain,
 And both for my sake lay on me this cross :
 But here's the joy : my friend and I are one ;
 Sweet flattery ! then she loves but me alone.

'horpe
 xlii.)

CHAPTER VII

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, COMPOSED FOR THE OCCASION OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S MOTHER TO SIR THOMAS HENEAGE, ON MAY 2, 1594

WE have now come to the year 1594 and to the full meridian of the sonnet period. Though Shakespeare as a poet never afterwards transcends the lyrical note he strikes both in the plays and sonnets produced in this year, as a dramatist he was now but entering into his kingdom.

If only the poems and plays produced before this year had survived, and in their original state, we could form but a limited conception of Shakespeare's later dramatic development ; but if all his poems and plays had been lost, with the exception of those produced and revised in this and the following year, we could realise a fairly adequate idea of the Shakespeare that was yet to be. To this year I assign the composition of the fourth *book* of sonnets, *Midsommer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Both of the plays mentioned were afterwards revised, and evidently upon several occasions. The more popular a play proved to be, the more likely it would be revived at intervals ; and the oftener it was revived, the more subject it would be

to revision. These revisions resulted not only from Shakespeare's developing taste and maturing judgment, but also from the exigencies of the occasions for which the revivals were made. If a play was revised for Court or other occasional presentations, changes or additions would be made, in consonance with the incidents or spirit of that occasion ; if revived for public presentation, changes would be suggested by Shakespeare's riper dramatic experience, or else more distinctly to differentiate the play in question from plays of somewhat similar titles or subjects being presented by other theatrical companies. A play proving popular at any one theatre was often soon imitated in title or subject upon the rival boards.

Most of Shakespeare's plays were primarily produced, not for the public boards, but for Court or private presentation. Such plays, when later on presented on the public boards, proving popular and being revived at intervals would naturally grow in bulk, but proving "caviar to the multitude" would be laid aside, and unless revived and revised for private purposes would have reached us, in or near, the state of their original composition.

When we consider the type of play that was popular with the public at the time that Shakespeare began to write—such plays as *The Jew of Malta*, *Tamburlaine*, *Titus Andronicus*, etc.—and allowing for the great influence that he must have exercised, even by his early plays, upon the dramatic taste of the theatre-going public of the time, we realise that any appreciable development of taste in the public must have been gradual, and that as early as 1592, 1593 or 1594, such plays as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* would undoubtedly prove "caviar to the multitude." It takes

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little critical judgment, then, to differentiate the early plays that were produced primarily for presentation before the Court, or the cultured audiences at the houses of the nobility, from those that were written as theatrical pot-boilers, to suit the cruder taste of the masses.

I have suggested and given evidence that *Love's Labour's Won* (the first form of the play afterwards revised into *All's Well that Ends Well*) and *Love's Labour's Lost* were produced in 1591 and 1592, not primarily for public purposes, but (reflecting incidents of Southampton's life, as I have shown) that they were produced in that nobleman's interests, for presentation at Court, or at his own or his friends' houses.

I shall now give my reasons for believing that the first production of *Midsummer Night's Dream* was also the result of Southampton's or Sir Thomas Heneage's influence, and that it was primarily intended for private presentation. I shall also indicate its first production, in the year 1594, and show that the internal evidence that has led certain commentators to date its production in 1595, 1596 or 1598, was due to later time revisions. There is no evidence, either external or internal, to warrant the dating of this play earlier than 1594.¹

A wide divergence exists between commentators in the dates given for the first production of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The New Shakespeare Society dates it in 1591, Fleay in 1592, Drake in 1593, Malone in 1594, Gervinus in 1595, Delius in 1596, and Chalmers in 1598. The Reverend Henry Paine Stokes, in a work devoted entirely

¹ The early date of 1590-1, tentatively advanced by early commentators, rests largely upon the disproved assumption that the play was composed for the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Lady Sidney. The late dates overlook the fact of revision,

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to the chronology of the plays, dates this play in 1595. He writes :

“ It has frequently been suggested that a *Midsummer Night's Dream* was composed to grace some marriage festivities ; and the supposition has been supported by referring to its lyrical and almost operatic tone, to its masque-like form, and to Oberon's song at the conclusion. But this suggestion may perhaps be answered by noting the difficulty that has been experienced in finding any nuptial event to tally with the supposed date of its composition, by the unlikelihood of so unique an undertaking on Shakespeare's part being unrecorded and by the inappropriateness of such phrases as Bottom's statement in Act III. Scene i. lines 146-8—‘ yet, to say truth, reason and love keep little company together nowadays.’ ”

Mr. Stokes does not quote the still more puzzling and evidently more topical continuation of Bottom's remark :

The more the pity, that *some honest neighbours will not make them friends.*

Early commentators have suggested the probability that this play was written for the alleged marriage festivities on the occasion of the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Lady Frances Sidney in 1590 ; but when we remember that this marriage was contracted privately, and at a time when Essex was estranged from the Queen and absent from the Court, it appears evident that the marriage would not be celebrated by the production of a new play, written expressly for that occasion. Other commentators suggest that it was written in 1598, to grace the marriage festival of the Earl of Southampton to Elizabeth Vernon. Both of these suggestions are mere guesses and show lamentable ignorance of easily ascertainable historical facts in regard

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to the personages whose marriages are suggested. Southampton's marriage to Elizabeth Vernon took place very privately at Essex's house in August 1598 and was not accompanied by any festivities ; in fact, this nobleman, while supposed by the Queen and Court to be absent in France at this time, came over to England very secretly, to consummate this marriage with Elizabeth Vernon, whose condition had recently caused her dismissal from the Court. Within a day or two of this secretly contracted marriage, Southampton returned to the Continent, from whence he was recalled by the Queen as soon as knowledge of the affair reached her.

The sonnet story and its correlative reflections fully resolve the difficulties noted by Mr. Stokes and others ; supplying a nuptial event that not only fits the date (1594) that coincides with the strongest internal chronological evidence advanced by past commentators, but gives us also a *bridal couple that match the advanced ages and social dignity of Theseus and Hippolyta*—a feature of the question that has not been noticed in the endeavours made in the past to fit the date of the composition of this play to a nuptial occasion.

For whatever other marriage celebrations *Midsummer Night's Dream* may have been performed in later years, and however it may have been later revised, I am satisfied that *it was first produced for the occasion of the marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage to Lady Southampton*, mother of Shakespeare's friend and patron, in the year 1594.

The most quoted internal indication of the date of the composition of this play is Titania's description of the unseasonable weather conditions in Act II. Scene ii., as follows :

TITA. These are the forgeries of jealousy :
 And never since the middle summer's spring,
 Met we on hill, in dale, in forest, or mead,
 By paved fountain or by rushy brook,
 Or in the beached margent of the sea,
 To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
 But with thy brawls thou hast disturb'd our sport.
 Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
 As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea
 Contagious fogs ; which, falling in the land,
 Have every pelting river made so proud,
 That they have overborne their continents :
 The ox hath therefore stretch'd his yoke in vain,
 The ploughman lost his sweat ; and the green corn
 Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard :
 The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
 And crows are fattened with the murrion flock ;
 The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud ;
 And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
 For lack of tread, are undistinguishable :
 The human mortals want their winter here ;
 No night is now with hymn or carol blest :
 Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
 Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
 That rheumatic diseases do abound :
 And through this distemperature we see
 The seasons alter : hoary-headed frosts
 Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose ;
 And on old Hiem's thin and icy crown
 An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
 Is, as in mockery, set : the spring, the summer,
 The chiding autumn, angry winter, change
 Their wonted liveries ; and the mazed world,
 By their increase, now knows not which is which :
 And this same progeny of evils comes
 From our debate, from our dissension ;
 We are their parents and original.

According to all the records that have come down to us, the most exceptional period in this respect, during the years that Shakespeare could possibly have produced this play, was the spring and summer of 1594. The authorities

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hitherto quoted by commentators recording the peculiar weather conditions of this time are Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1594; Dr. King's *Lectures at York*, 1594; Forman's *Diary*, 1564-1602; and a verse in Churchyard's *Charitie*, published in 1595, but evidently describing conditions already past.

A colder time in world was never seene :
The skies do loure, the sun and moone wax dim ;
Summer scarce known, but that the leaves are greene
The winter's waste drives water ore the brim ;
Upon the land great flotes of wood may swim ;

To this list I will add an evident record of this weather not hitherto noticed. George Chapman's *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, with the dedication to Matthew Roydon, in which I have suggested that Shakespeare is indicated by Chapman, was first published in 1594. In the second of these hymns, entitled *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, Chapman gives a short description of such tempestuous weather conditions as those noted, which he attributes to the influence of the moon, and in the gloss that he appends to this poem he delves out of obscure classics much lore in regard to the moon, her names, attributes and powers, not previously noticed in English literature. His reflection of the tempestuous weather is as follows :

Then in thy clear and icy pentacle,
Now execute a magic miracle :
Slip every sort of poison'd herbs and plants,
And bring thy rabid mastiffs to these haunts.
Look with thy fierce aspect, be terror strong,
Assume thy wondrous shape of half a furlong :
Put on thy feet of serpents, viperous hairs,
And act the fearfull'st part of thy affairs :
Convert the violent courses of thy floods,
Remove whole fields of corn, and hugest woods,

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Cast hills into the sea and make the stars
Drop out of heaven, and lose thy mariners.
So shall the wonders of thy power be seen,
And thou forever live the planets' queen.

In the gloss appended to this poem, a note upon the passage above quoted reads :

All these are proper to her as she is Hecate.

Shakespeare, though covertly indicated by Chapman in the dedication to these poems and quite conscious of Chapman's animus, did not disdain to glean from his enemy.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare displays classical knowledge in regard to the moon that he undoubtedly owes to *The Shadow of Night* and its gloss. In Titania's description of the weather, quoted above, we have the lines :

Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
Pale in her anger, washes all the air.

If these lines be compared with the extract from Chapman's poem the debt to Chapman will be seen.

Though Shakespeare in later plays displays his knowledge of the moon as Hecate and the power of fate, he shows no evidence of such knowledge in plays produced before *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In the verses recited by Puck at the end of this play we have the lines :

And we fairies that do run
By the triple Hecate's team.

In the portion of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*,

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styled by Chapman *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, we have the lines :

Nature's bright eyesight and the night fair soul
That with thy *triple forehead* doth control
Earth, seas and hell and art in dignity
The greatest and swiftest planet in the sky.
Peaceful and warlike and the power of fate.

In the gloss to this poem he explains the expression "triple forehead" as follows :

Orpheus in these verses of Argonauticis,
Saith she is *thrice-headed*, as she is *Hecate*,
Luna, and Diana, ut sequitur.

Shakespeare's knowledge of the triplicity of Hecate is derived from this source. I doubt if any reference to the triplicity of Hecate or any explanation of the meaning of that triplicity is to be found in English literature previous to the publication of Chapman's *Shadow of Night* and its gloss.

However deep an impression a prolonged period of extraordinary weather may make upon a community while it lasts, a return of conditions to the normal soon obliterates the memory of its discomforts. It is not likely then that Shakespeare would reflect his impressions of these conditions long after they had ceased to be. He registered his impressions in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, either during the prevalence of this weather or shortly afterwards, his description being stimulated by that already given by Chapman. It is evident from the tone of Chapman's dedication to Roydon that Shakespeare had read these poems in MS., from which it appears probable that Chapman at this time had sought Southampton's patronage, either with these poems or with those he pub-

lished in the following year ; and that he imputed his failure in securing Southampton's favour to Shakespeare's influence.

Though Shakespeare in *Midsummer Night's Dream* reflects knowledge of Chapman's *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, and also of the antagonism of Roydon, he shows no actual knowledge of *Willobie his Avis*a. This poem was not published until September 1594 ; though it had probably been passed amongst Roydon's friends and confidants in MS. form before its publication. While Shakespeare was cognizant of the hostility of Roydon at the period he composed *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and probably also knew of the existence of *Willobie his Avis*a, he had evidently not read the poem at that time. In *Romeo and Juliet*, however, the first production of which play I date in December 1594, he shows distinct evidence of having read it. I am therefore inclined to ascribe much of the satire against Roydon in *Midsummer Night's Dream* to a period of revision, and after the second publication of *Willobie his Avis*a in 1596, when Roydon also issued the ballad of *Penelope's Complaint*, under the pseudonym of " Peter Colse " ; which name, I believe, Shakespeare parodies in " Peter Quince " : both were ballad-makers. I am also of the opinion that the publication of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in Quarto form, in 1600, with Shakespeare's name upon the title-page, was not a surreptitious issue, but that it was made with Shakespeare's cognizance, in order to publish his satire against Roydon and his clique, in answer to their third attack upon him in the third issue of *Willobie his Avis*a ; which was attempted, but prevented by the censor in 1599, to coincide with the evidently spiteful issue of the *Passionate Pilgrim* at the same time. I shall give

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evidence later that Shakespeare had similar motives in publishing *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1598, and *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609. All three of these quartos show care in the publication, and are remarkably accurate when compared with other quartos, and all three of them carry Shakespeare's name upon the title-page.

There is one other piece of internal evidence in this play quoted by all critics that is evidently to be accounted for only by the fact of later time revision. In Act v. Scene i., lines 52 to 56, we have :

The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary.
That is some satire, keen and critical,
Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony.

It has been argued that these lines refer to the death of Robert Greene in the autumn of 1592. Were this true, and in the light of the words "late deceased," it would place the production of this play late in 1592. No other reason whatever can be adduced in support of this date. It has also been argued more reasonably that the lines allude to *The Tears of the Muses* and refer to the death of Spenser, which occurred on 16th January 1599, and that they imply a compliment to the Earl of Essex, who is reported to have sent relief to Spenser (which, however, reached him upon his death-bed) though Cecil and the Court had neglected his distress. Against the assumption that this passage refers to the death of Spenser, it is noticed that Meres mentions *Midsummer Night's Dream* in his *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, and consequently argued that this play was produced before the death of Spenser. This argument does not take into consideration the very evident fact that *Midsummer Night's Dream* was revised in later

years. The probabilities are that it was revised several times. In considering the probable occasions upon which it may have been presented, it is well to bear in mind Shakespeare's close and continuous connection with the Earl of Southampton, and his consequent acquaintance with that nobleman's intimate friends during the same period. In October 1599, after Southampton had returned with the Earls of Essex and Rutland, and others of his friends from the Irish wars, and while they were in disfavour at Court, Southampton and Rutland are mentioned in a letter of Rowland Whyte's to Sir Robert Sidney as follows :

" My lord Southampton and lord Rutland come not to the Court, the one doth but very seldom, they pass away the tyme in London merrily in going to plays every day."

From the time that the young Earl of Rutland first came to Court he leaned strongly to the Essex faction, and he and Southampton were intimate friends. It is not unlikely, then, that the services of Shakespeare and his company were retained for the marriage festivities upon the occasion of the Earl of Rutland's proposed marriage in the spring of this year and not long after the death of Spenser, and that *Midsummer Night's Dream* was among the plays intended to be presented upon this occasion. Rutland eventually married the Earl of Essex's step-daughter, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, in the autumn of this year. It appears probable also that this play was published at Shakespeare's instigation in 1600, and if so, some slight revisions would undoubtedly be made in preparing the play for publication.

The marriage of the Earl of Rutland to Essex's step-

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daughter was originally planned to take place in February or March 1599, but was postponed ostensibly owing to Rutland's departure for the Irish campaign in March. The arrangements for the wedding were evidently far advanced, as it was reported at the time that it had actually taken place. John Chamberlain in a letter to Dudley Carleton, dated 15th March 1599, writing of Essex's departure for Ireland, says: "The Earles of Southampton and Rutland (who hath lately married the Countess of Essex's daughter) do accompanie him." We have proof, however, that the marriage was deferred until the autumn of this year, and that it was finally consummated after the return of Essex and Southampton from Ireland. It is certain from the general tone of the correspondence of John Chamberlain with Dudley Carleton that both of those gentlemen were, at this time, politically affiliated with Cecil and antipathetic to Essex and his faction, and consequently not likely to have confidential relations with Rutland or Southampton. In the letter quoted, Chamberlain merely reports current gossip. Rowland Whyte, however, came closely in contact with Essex, Rutland and Southampton, who were all intimate friends of his employer, Sir Robert Sidney. On 1st September 1599 he reports in a letter addressed to Sir Robert Sidney, at Flushing: "My Lord Rutland is now and then at Court, he is often at Bartlemas and I heare intends your niece to be Countess of Rutland, as young as she is." This correspondence gives us proof that the marriage took place some time between the 1st of September and the 16th of October 1599; at which latter date Rowland Whyte reports that the Earl of Southampton, Lady Cumberland and Lady Rutland stood sponsors at the baptism of Lady Essex's daughter.

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Midsummer Night's Dream was then evidently revised by Shakespeare in February or March 1599, in anticipation of the marriage being planned at that time. The reference to—

The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary—

being made at this time would then undoubtedly refer to Spenser, who died only about a month before.

The circumstances of Southampton's intimate relations with Essex and his family, and with his close political adherents at this period of their common misfortunes and Court disfavour, are, I believe, to be found strongly reflected in all the plays composed, or revised, by Shakespeare between 1599 and 1601.

It is extremely probable that *Much Ado About Nothing* (the composition of which is indicated by all evidence in the autumn of 1599), reflecting, as it does, a deferred marriage and the return of gentlemen from a war, in which their only glory has been that they have brought "home full numbers," was written by Shakespeare for the festivities upon the occasion of the marriage of the Earl of Rutland to Essex's stepdaughter, after the return of Essex and Southampton from Ireland in the autumn of this year.

The great preponderance of evidence then places the first production of *Midsummer Night's Dream* in the year 1594, though it evidently was revised once or twice before it appeared in quarto in 1600.

Though the title of this play is *Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is evident that its action takes place in the month of May. In Act iv. Scene i., when Theseus and his attend-

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ants come upon Demetrius, Lysander and Helena sleeping, Theseus says :

No doubt they rose up early to observe
The rite of May ; and, hearing our intent,
Came here in grace of our solemnity.

For such plot as this play contains Shakespeare was indebted to Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. This reference to " the rite of May " is taken from the following passage :

Till it fil ones in a morwe of May
That Emelye, that fairer was to sene
Than is the lylie upon his stalke grene,
And fressher than the May with floures newe,—
For with the rose colour stroof hire hewe,
I nost which was the fyner of hen two,—
Er it was day, as was hir wone to do,
She was arisen and al redy dight,
For May wole have no slogardrie a nyght,
The season priketh every gentil herte
And maketh hym out of his slepe to sterte,
And seith, " Arys, and do thyn abservaunce."
This maked Emelye have remembraunce
To doon honour to May, and for to ryse.

For whatever marriage festivity this play was originally written, and in whatever year, *the month of that year was May and in the first few days of that month* : the references to the " rite of May " and " a morn of May " evidently indicate the first of May. The Countess of Southampton and Sir Thomas Heneage were married upon 2nd May 1594. Considering the great social and political status of the contracting parties, we may realise that their marriage would be an important social occasion. Heneage, after Burghley, was the Queen's oldest and most trusted servant ; Elizabeth had showered many favours upon him, and he had grown wealthy in her service. He held several

important offices at this time, being Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice-Chamberlain of the Court. Though I find no record to that effect, we may infer that the Queen graced this marriage by her presence. We have record that Heneage and his wife, seven months later (7th December 1594) entertained the Queen, at the Savoy Palace, his official residence (as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), into which he had recently moved.

When seen in this light many passages in *Midsommer Night's Dream* that have hitherto exercised the critics become plain. The graceful allusion to the Queen in Act II. Scene i. gives good evidence that she was a participant in the festivities for which the play was composed.

OBERON. That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
 Cupid all arm'd : a certain aim he took
 At a fair vestal throned by the west,
 And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts :
 But I might see young cupid's fiery shaft
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
 And the imperial votaress passed on,
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.

Again, in this same act and scene, we have what appears to be a reflection of the presence of the Queen and Court upon this occasion, in the description of the cowslips as the " pensioners " of the fairy Queen :

The cowslips tall her pensioners be :
 In their gold coats spots you see ;
 These be rubies, fairy favours,
 In those freckles live their savours.

This is a palpable reflection of Elizabeth's well-known and gaudily dressed Yeomen of the Guard, a band of fifty gentlemen known as her pensioners.

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The whole tone and structure of this play suggest that it was primarily intended for an occasion of this nature and not merely for public performance. It has been said that the crude scenic effects possible in Shakespeare's day in public theatres would deprive *Midsummer Night's Dream* of much of its beauty and reduce it almost to the level of pantomime. Even in modern times it takes a cultured audience to appreciate its poetical and imaginative beauties. It is entirely lacking in action, plot or story sufficiently interesting to hold the attention of a play-going public accustomed to the stagey grandiloquence of Marlowe, or even to the earlier historical plays usually attributed to Shakespeare.

In the expression "gentles," in Puck's parting speech, we have another suggestion that an aristocratic audience is addressed.

PUCK. If we shadows have offended,
Think but this and all is mended,
That you have but slumber'd here,
While these visions did appear
And this weak and idle theme,
No more yielding but a dream,
Gentles, do not reprehend :
If you pardon, we will mend.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* and other plays evidently originally written for Court or private presentation I find this word "gentles" used with a similar intention.

Assigning *Midsummer Night's Dream* to the date and occasion I suggest, we have in the dignified Theseus and the stately Hippolyta a reflection of the no longer youthful Countess of Southampton and the middle-aged Heneage ; though I am of the opinion that several parts of this play introducing these characters were altered in later years

to make the characters more nearly approximate to the personalities for whose marriage festivities the play was revised.

In Southampton's and Shakespeare's mutual passion for the "dark lady," and in Southampton's reluctance to the proposed marriage to Lady Vere, and the efforts being made by his friends to induce him to favour it, we have hints of the troublous loves of Lysander, Demetrius, Helena and Hermia. Let us examine the nature of the complaints of Lysander and Hermia, upon the crosses that beset true love, and we find the ideas of several of Shakespeare's sonnets to the dark lady repeated, and the peculiar nature of his and Southampton's position with regard to Avisia reflected.

Lys. Ay me! for aught that I could ever read,
 Could ever hear by tale or history,
 The course of true love never did run smooth;
 But, either it was different in blood,—

HER. O cross! too high to be enthrall'd to low.

A palpable reflection of the young nobleman's position, "enthrall'd" by the tavernkeeper's wife:

Lys. Or else misgraffed in respect of years,—

HER. O spite! too old to be engaged to young.

A reflection of Shakespeare's age, when contrasted with Avisia's and with the "dark lady" of the Sonnets, as displayed in sonnet 138:

When my love swears that she is made of truth,
 I do believe her, though I know she lies,
 That she might think me some untutor'd youth,
 Unlearned in the world's false subtleties.
 Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young,
 Although she knows my days are past the best,
 Simply I credit her false-speaking tongue:
 On both sides thus is simple truth suppress'd.

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But wherefore says she not she is unjust ?
And wherefore say not I that I am old ?
O, love's best habit is in seeming trust,
And age in love loves not to have years told :
Therefore I lie with her and she with me,
And in our faults by lies we flattered be.

The engagement arranged between Southampton and Lady Elizabeth Vere by the friends and relations of the young couple is suggested as follows :

LYS. Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,—

HER. O hell ! to choose love by another's eyes.

The palpably local and personal meaning of Bottom's reflection upon the unreasonableness of love, in Act III. Scene i., quoted by Mr. Stokes, as proving such a riddle to the commentators, solves itself in the light of the present history of Southampton's engagement to Lady Vere, and his quest of the "dark lady."

TITA. I pray thee, gentle mortal, sing again :

Mine ear is much enamour'd of your note ;

So is mine eye enthrall'd to thy shape ;

And thy fair virtue's force perforce doth move me

On the first view to say, to swear, I love thee.

BOT. Methinks, mistress, you should have little reason for that :

and yet, to say the truth, reason and love keep little company together nowadays ; the more the pity that some honest neighbours will not make them friends.

Southampton would doubtless be present upon the occasion of his mother's marriage festivities : it is not difficult then to find the application of Bottom's speech. While the full purport of this speech as referring to Southampton's infatuation for Avis, a married woman and tavernkeeper's wife, as well as his disinclination to the marriage urged by his friends, would at this date (five months anterior to the publication of *Willobie his Avis*)

probably be understood alone by Shakespeare and Southampton; its reflection upon Southampton's adverse attitude to the marriage arranged for him would be well taken by his friends. This seems to lend added colour to the idea that Shakespeare, in urging marriage upon Southampton in the early sonnets, did so at the instigation of Southampton's relatives.

In the character of Hermia and in Lysander's infatuation, as I have hitherto suggested, we have a reflection of the dark lady of the Sonnets and of Shakespeare's developing interest in her. In the Sonnets, Shakespeare several times alludes to the dark and attractive eyes and black hair of the "dark lady." In the person of Hermia, the same characteristics are prominently featured. In Act I. Scene i. Helena, addressing Hermia, says:

HEL. Your eyes are lode-stars; and your tongue's sweet air
More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear.

In the same act and scene we have two references to Hermia's eyes:

HEL. And as he errs, doting on Hermia's eyes.

And again:

For ere Demetrius look'd on Hermia's eyes
He hail'd down oaths that he was only mine.

In Act II. Scene ii. we find this characteristic referred to twice:

HEL. Happy is Hermia, whereso'er she lies;
For she hath blessed and attractive eyes.
How came her eyes so bright?

And again:

What wicked and dissembling glass of mine
Made me compare with Hermia's sphery eyne?

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In an age when to have been fair, that is, of fair complexion, was a necessity to female beauty or, at least, to the fashionable conception of womanly beauty, of which the Queen's own person was the conventional standard, Shakespeare feels compelled to explain his infatuation for this dark-haired, black-eyed, white-skinned woman whom, in a later stage of his infatuation, he described as

A whitely wanton with a velvet brow
With two pitch balls stuck in her face for eyes.

In the person of Hermia this characteristic is noted twice; once in Act II. Scene ii., when Lysander waking from sleep, after Puck had applied the magic herb to his eyes, repudiates Hermia and avows his love for Helena:

Not Hermia but Helena I love,
Who would not change a raven for a dove?

And again by inference in Act v. Scene i., in the lines—

the lover, all as frantic
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.

In Hermia, a dark-haired, black-eyed woman with a tongue

More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear,

we have the companion picture to Rosaline in *Love's Labour's Lost*; a suggestion of the Rosaline of *Romeo and Juliet*, the inceptive stage of Cressida, and the youth of Cleopatra, and, in the gradually developing, composite character, our poet's own conception of the developing Avisia, "a wench of excellent discourse"; "my hostess of the tavern"; the "dark lady."

In this unfolding characterisation we also have the tacit growth and development of the poet's own passion;

in the first stage, interest ; then attraction, infatuation, disillusionment ; and, finally, the reminiscient stage when, with sobered but unembittered judgment, he can yet describe her as "a lass unparalleled," and speaking through the mouth of Anthony, although he says :

Would I had never seen her,

in Enobarbus' reply exhibits the calm philosophy of his passion's aftermath :

You had then left unseen a wonderful work,
Which not to have been blessed withal
Would have discredited your travels.

The satire upon Matthew Roydon in this play I date at a period subsequent to the second publication of *Willobie his Avis* in 1596, when *Penelope's Complaint* was also issued. If, as I have suggested, Peter Quince and his ballad parody Peter Colse and his ballad, it becomes obvious that the latter publication preceded the parody in date of composition. It is equally obvious in the light of the foregoing argument that the original composition of *Midsummer Night's Dream* antedated the year 1596.

In *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, I have demonstrated Matthew Roydon's authorship of *Willobie his Avis* by displaying a large number of characteristic resemblances in thought, idiom and metre between that poem and his *Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*, the only long poem previously known as his work. I have also collected a number of shorter anonymous poems, several of which are satirically indicated by Shakespeare in plays of about this period, which, when submitted to the same tests, are plainly recognisable as Roydon's work. Three of these poems are parodied, or otherwise

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ridiculed, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Roydon is presented, among the rude mechanicals who play *Pyramus and Thisbe*, as Peter Quince, the ballad-maker. These poems are *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *The Shepherd's Slumber*, and his *Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*, which latter is written in a jingling and alliterative ballad metre quite unsuited to its serious purpose. These literary idiosyncrasies of Roydon's are parodied in the following, as well as in other, verses in the play :

PYRAMUS. Sweet moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams :
I thank thee, moon, for shining now so bright ;
For, by thy gracious, golden, glittering gleams,
I trust to taste of truest Thisbe's sight.
 But stay ;—O Spite !
 But mark—Poor Knight,
What dreadful dole is here ?
 Eyes, do you see ?
 How can it be ?
O dainty duck ! O dear !
 Thy mantle good,
 What, stain'd with blood ?
Approach, ye furies fell !
 O fates ! come, come ;
 Cut thread and thrum ;
Quail, crush, conclude, and quell !

That the nonsense of these verses, with the moon's "sunny beams," and their extravagant alliteration, was intended as a travesty of Roydon's mind and style, we have good proof in the lines that immediately follow, when, Pyramus having ended his woeful rant, Duke Theseus remarks, " This *passion*, and the *death* of a dear *friend*, would go near to make a man look sad." When the forced and stilted classicism, the opera-bouffe metre, and, above all, the extravagant and jingling alliteration of Roydon's *Elegie* for Sidney are noted and compared with the sombre inten-

tion of the poem, and its heavy and woeful title, "*Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*, written upon the death of the Right Honourable Sir Philip Sidney," the humour and intention of Shakespeare's parody in these lines, and in Theseus' reflection, become clear.

In Clement Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584) there is a poem entitled "A New Sonnet of Pyramus and Thisbe," which bears a very remarkable resemblance to many of Roydon's verses, and also strongly suggests Shakespeare's parody. This poem is subscribed, "I. Tomson." As I find no other poem of that age with this signature, and no record of any contemporary poet of that name, it is evident that "I. Tomson" was used by Roydon as a *nom de plume*, and that this poem is another of his lost "absolute comike inventions." That Roydon indulged in the use of pseudonyms we have evidence in the "Hadrian Dorrell" of *Willobie his Avis*, and also in "Peter Colse."

Among the anonymous Elizabethan poems which, from idiom, construction, metre and sense, I have assigned to Roydon, there is another that I am inclined to believe is glanced at and made fun of, with indicative intention, by Shakespeare in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Under the ascription of "Ignoto" we have a stray which opens as follows :

THE SHEPHERD'S DREAM

In peascod time, when hound to horn
Gives ear, till buck be killed ;
And little lads, with pipes of corn,
Sat keeping beasts afield ;
I went to gather strawberries tho
By woods and groves full fair ;
And parched my face with Phœbus so,
In walking in the air,

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That down I laid me, by a stream,
 With boughs all overclad ;
 And there I met the strangest dream
 That ever Shepherd had.

*Methought I saw each Christmas Game,
 Each Revel all and some,
 And everything that I can name,
 Or may in fancy come.
 The substance of the sights I saw,
 In silence pass they shall ;
 Because I lack the skill to draw
 The order of them all.*

Midsummer Night's Dream, Act iv., ends with Bottom's monologue :

BOT. (*awaking*). When my cue comes, call me, and I will answer : my next is, "Most fair Pyramus." Heigh-ho ! Peter Quince ! Flute, the bellows-mender ! Snout, the tinker ! Starveling ! God's my life, stolen hence, and left me asleep ! *I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was : man is but an ass. if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. Methought I was,—and methought I had,—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had.* The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was. *I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream : it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom ; and I will sing it in the latter end of a play, before the Duke : peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it at her death.*

This is also a distinct stroke at Roydon's *Elegie*. The jingling and inappropriate metre of this seriously intended poem is exactly similar to that used by Roydon in nearly all his ballads. Many verses of Roydon's *Elegie* are given to the description of a dream, or vision, that verily "hath no bottom." Bottom's promise to get Peter Quince

(which name, by the way, seems strangely reminiscent of Roydon's "Peter Colse" and his ballad) to write a ballad of his dream, and "peradventure, to make it more gracious" to "sing it at her death," points obviously at Roydon's ballad-elegy.

"Ignoto" was a pseudonym used by many Elizabethan poets who wished to remain anonymous; poems by Lord Brooke, Raleigh, Barnfield and others have been recognised under this ascription. The poem quoted above bears all the earmarks of Roydon's style, and, when compared with the *Elegie*, again displays the same poverty of poetic invention that we have shown by comparing the *Elegie* with *Willobie his Avis*. The eighth verse of the *Elegie* begins a description of a dream or vision, which is continued to the second from the last verse. Having indicated Roydon—as shown in the parallel between Bottom's monologue and *The Shepherd's Dream*—Shakespeare accentuates the indication by expectancy. "I will get Peter Quince," says Bottom, "to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the latter end of a play, before the Duke: peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it at her death."

In Act v. Scene i. Bottom, as Pyramus, recites the promised ballad upon the supposed death of Thisbe, keeping the promise he had made, "peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it at her death":

PYR. Sweet moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams;
 I thank thee, moon, for shining now so bright;
 For, by thy gracious, golden, glittering gleams,
 I trust to take of truest Thisbe sight.

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This may be seen to be an evident parody of a verse from Roydon's vision in the *Elegie* :

O Sunne ! (said he) seeing the sunne,
On wretched me why dost thou shine ?
My star is falne, my comfort done,
Out is the apple of my eine :
Shine upon those possesse delight,
And let me live in endlesse night.

Still further to strengthen his indication and drive home his point, Theseus is made to refer to the lugubrious title of Roydon's *Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*, written upon the *death* of the Right Honourable Sir Philip Sidney, in the passage hereto quoted :

THE. This *passion*, and the *death* of a dear *friend*,
Would go near to make a man look sad.

We may well infer, that if Shakespeare intended to make fun of Roydon and his verses, through the mouth of Bottom, he would also have caricatured Roydon's description of the actions of the man in his vision, by the acting of Bottom on awaking from his dreams.

BOT. This green *plot* shall be our stage.

Roydon's vision in the *Elegie* commences :

In midst and center of this *plot*,
I saw one groveling on the grasse ;
A man or stone, I knew not that :
No stone ; of man the figure was,
And yet I could not count him one,
More than the image made of stone.

At length I might perceive him reare
His bodie on his elbow end :
Earthly and pale with ghastly cheare,
Upon his knees he upward tend,
Seeming like one in uncouth stound,
To be ascending out the ground.

A grievous sigh forthwith he throwes,
 As might have torne the vitall strings ;
 Then down his cheeks the teares so flows,
 As doth the streame of many springs.
 So thunder rends the cloud in twaine,
 And makes a passage for the raine.

Incontinent, with trembling sound ;
 He wofully gan to complaine ;
 Such were the accents as might wound,
 And teare a diamond rocke in twaine :
 After his throbs did somewhat stay
 Thus heavily he gan to say :

O sunne ! (said he) seeing the sunne,
 On wretched me why dost thou shine ?
 My star is falne, my comfort done,
 Out is the apple of my eie :
 Shine upon those possesse delight,
 And let me live in endlesse night.

As Bottom's "methought I had," and "methought I was," as well as his dream that "hath no bottom," parody *The Shepherd's Dream*, so, in all probability, his actions on awakening, rising on his elbow with "grievous sighs" and woeful complainings, caricatured this description of Roydon's vision from the *Elegie*.

Now here are three poems indicated and parodied : the *Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel* (which we know to be by Roydon) ; the poem of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, which is signed "I. Tomson" ; and *The Shepherd's Dream*, which is signed "Ignoto." All of these poems may be compared critically with each other, and with *Willobie his Avis*, and also with the *Ballad of Constant Susanna*, and several other poems of similar characteristics, and of that period, that I attribute to Roydon's pen. "I. Tomson," like "Peter Colse" and "Hadrian Dorrell," are otherwise

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quite unknown in Elizabethan literature. The ascription, "Ignoto," is a plain admission of anonymous intention. All of these poems here caricatured bear the same technical and characteristic resemblances to Roydon's *Elegie*, already displayed in parallel columns,¹ between the *Elegie* and *Willobie his Avisa*.

In the light of all this, and of Shakespeare's indicative reference to "this passion, and the death of a dear friend," it becomes evident that Roydon was the author of the poems indicated, and the object of Shakespeare's satirical shafts.

¹ *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, pages 136-7.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUBJECTIVE PHASES OF *ROMEO AND JULIET* REGARDING SOUTHAMPTON AND HIS FRIENDS

GUIDED by the thread of personal evidence running through the plays of the sonnet period, when correlated with the story of the Sonnets and with the incidents of the lives of the persons now revealed as the characters of that story, I am led from *Midsummer Night's Dream* to *Romeo and Juliet*, the composition of which I date in the autumn of 1594.

As in the case of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, there is a wide divergence amongst Shakespearean scholars in regard to the date of the first production of *Romeo and Juliet*, some critics placing it as early as 1589, and others as late as 1596. An early sketch of the play, containing about one-third less matter than the version of the first folio, appeared in quarto form in 1597. A second quarto appeared in 1599, the title-page of which informs us that the play was "newly corrected, augmented and revised." Third, fourth and fifth quartos were also published differing little from the second quarto, which is the best version of the play.

No evidence other than assumption has been advanced in favour of dating the first production of *Romeo and Juliet*

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later than the year 1594, that will not be equally applicable to this year.

I will first examine the internal and external evidence usually advanced in favour of a date of composition earlier than the year 1594, and will then give my reasons for assigning its present plot and action to that year at however earlier a date Shakespeare may have worked upon this subject.

The external and internal evidence hitherto advanced from which we may adduce any idea of the date of composition of *Romeo and Juliet* is limited and nebulous ; some lines in the poem of Dr. Dodophill, which was published in 1600, but alluded to in 1596, seem to display on Shakespeare's part an acquaintance with that poem, or, on the part of the author of that poem, an acquaintance with *Romeo and Juliet* and *Midsommer Night's Dream*, in which latter play a reflection of that poem has also been pointed out. No definite conclusion can be reached in regard to this evidence, lacking knowledge of the actual date of composition of either the poem or the play, nor can any argument be adduced from it to confirm or invalidate the date I assign for the composition of both the plays mentioned.

It has been noticed that certain passages in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamonde*, which was entered on the Stationers' Registers in February 1593 (new style), seem to reflect or be reflected by portions of *Romeo and Juliet*. Here again, Shakespeare was just as likely as Daniel to have been the borrower ; both poets were at different periods accused by critical contemporaries of plagiarism. In this particular instance, however, Shakespeare seems to have been recognised at that period as the copyist. In the

Return from Parnassus (which shows an anti-Shakespearean intention) one of the characters—Ingenioso—says: “Mark Romeo and Juliet, O monstrous theft, I think he will run through a book of Samuel Daniel’s.”

Passages paralleling both Marlowe’s *Jew of Malta* (1589–90) and his *Edward II.* (1592) have also been noticed by Dyce and Malone. In these instances there can be little doubt that Shakespeare owes the suggestion for his lines to Marlowe.

A very indicative piece of external evidence was pointed out by Malone, in the connection between some expressions in Act II. Scene iv., showing a knowledge of Italian terms in regard to fencing (“the first and second cause,” “the passado” and the “punto reverso”), and the publication of Saviola’s book on *Honour and Honourable Quarrels*, which was first published in England in 1594. When the incidents of Southampton’s life and that of his most intimate associates in this year are considered, and also their mutual interests in Italy and things Italian borne in mind, it appears very probable that a book of this nature would come to their notice and through them to the notice of Shakespeare.

The only other piece of external evidence hitherto noticed is an allusion in Weever’s *Epigrams* to Romeo as one of Shakespeare’s characters. It is asserted by some recent critics that these *Epigrams* were written “before 1595.” Francis Douce was the first critic to suggest that Weever’s *Epigrams* were written some years before their publication in 1599, basing his suggestion on two lines in Weever’s dedication, in which he states that at the time of their composition he was not yet twenty years old.

As deign to view my tender blushing youth
That twenty twelvemonths yet did never know.

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We know, however, that Weever was twenty-three years old in 1599. Taking his lines, therefore, at their face value, we see that he was between nineteen and twenty years of age, and probably nearer twenty than nineteen, when the *Epigrams* were written. This, then, would make their date either late in the year 1595 or early in the year 1596, and not "before 1595," as is usually asserted. There is no other basis than Francis Douce's suggestion for the assertion that Weever's *Epigrams* "were written before 1595."

In the same epigram in which Romeo is mentioned, Lucrece and Tarquin are also mentioned, which proves positively a later date than May 1594 for their composition, *Lucrece* being published in that month.

While little of the external evidence quoted above positively indicates the actual date I assign for the first production of *Romeo and Juliet*, none of it is negative.

All but one item of internal evidence worthy of consideration advanced by past commentators, regarding the date of the composition of this play, coincide with, or allow for, the date for which I argue. The reference to the sealing of the plague-infected houses, in Act v. Scene ii., has been suggested, very reasonably, as a reflection of the pestilence in London in the preceding and the present years (1593-4). Owing to the plague in these years the theatres were closed; it was therefore a circumstance likely to be borne in mind by Shakespeare.

The preparations for the expedition of Drake and Hawkins to Porto Rico, to attempt the capture of a Spanish treasure reported to be collected there, that were being made late in 1594 were suggested by Chalmers as being reflected in Act II. Scene ii. in the lines :

I am no pilot. Yet wert thou as far
As that vast shore washed with the farthest sea
I would adventure for such merchandise.

The only inkling of the theory I shall later advance regarding this play, hitherto suggested by any critic, is the suggestion made by Gerald Massey regarding the nurse's difficulty about the first letter in Romeo's name, as an allusion to the name of Wriothesley, and his further suggestion that the action of the play alludes to the prevention of Southampton's marriage to Elizabeth Vernon. I was entirely unacquainted with Mr. Massey's suggestions when I reached these same conclusions.

The single point of internal evidence, which, if accepted as chronologically indicative, would place the composition of some form of this play earlier than 1594, is the double allusion of the nurse, in Act I. Scene iii., to an earthquake. We will quote the whole passage :

NURSE. Even or odd of all the days in the year,
Come Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen.
Susan and she—God rest all Christian souls!—
Were of an age : well, Susan is with God ;
She was too good for me :—but as I said,
At Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen ;
That shall she, marry ; I remember it well.
'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years ;
And she was wean'd—I never shall forget it—
Of all the days of the year, upon that day !
For I had then laid wormwood to my dug,
Sitting in the sun under the dove-house wall ;
My lord and you were then at Mantua :—
Nay, I do bear a brain :—but as I said,
When it did taste the wormwood on the nipple
Of my dug, and felt it bitter, pretty fool,
To see it tetchy, and fall out with the dug !
Shake, quoth the dove-house : 'twas no need, I trow,
To bid me trudge.
And since that time it is eleven years.

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An earthquake tremor is recorded as having been felt in London in 1580. Tyrwhitt was the first to suggest that Shakespeare intentionally alluded to this particular occurrence, and to notice that the eleven years following, mentioned by the nurse, would place the date of the composition of this play in 1591. If this allusion be accepted as denoting the date of composition, no argument can negative the fact that 1591 is the date indicated. It is at present, however, the only evidence, either external or internal, pointing to this early year. Now it might be asked, why should it be accepted as having any specifically indicative value whatever? and argued that in the person of the nurse Shakespeare intentionally characterises a gossipy, garrulous and muddled old woman; and in her reckoning of time from "the earthquake," merely exhibits the tendency of people of her class and type to measure time from local incidents of note—as the Irish peasant from "the big wind," or the old-time American negro from "befo' de wah"; and furthermore, that in Shakespeare's time it was evidently common usage for Italian women of the type of the nurse to count time from "the earthquake"—a most disastrous earthquake having occurred in Italy in 1570, which must have done much damage in Verona, as it completely destroyed Ferrara. But the earthquake allusion, slight as it is, and notwithstanding the fact that in 1591 Shakespeare had not developed either the naturalness of characterisation or the colloquial freedom and literary facility exhibited in this scene—when coupled with an hitherto unnoticed subjective allusion leads me to infer that *Romeo and Juliet* in an earlier form may have been worked upon by Shakespeare as early as 1591, when he advocated Southampton's marriage to Elizabeth Vere.

In Brooke's *Romeus and Juliect*, which is recognised as Shakespeare's source for his play, Juliect is seventeen years of age; why, then, unless for a subjective reason, should Shakespeare represent his heroine as fourteen? When Southampton met and fell in love with Elizabeth Vernon in 1594, she was of a marriageable age, and the Queen's consent to a marriage was several times solicited in the following year. His engagement to Elizabeth Vere, as I have shown, was planned by her grandfather Burghley, who was anxious to ally his family with the older nobility. Elizabeth Vere was the youngest but one of his granddaughters, and was not of a marriageable age when this engagement was entered into in 1590-1. We have evidence that Southampton was still affianced to her as late as May 1593, in the fact of his nomination for the Garter in this year, and the foregoing chronicle infers that the engagement was not disrupted until the spring of 1594. It is probable that in changing the age of Juliect from seventeen to fourteen Shakespeare reflected the age of Elizabeth Vere, the original he may have had in mind in 1591. A change in the age of Juliet in 1594 to suit that of his later prototype might have exposed his later intention too palpably.

The manner in which this play links itself in incident, action and intention with conditions and incidents of the lives of Southampton and his intimate friends in 1594 shows that at however earlier a date it was originally composed, it was practically re-written at this time.

As in the instances of *Love's Labour's Won*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, there can be little doubt that however popular *Romeo and Juliet* may have proved when later presented upon the public boards, it was primarily

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written for private or Court presentation. Considering Shakespeare's developing intimacy with Southampton—*Lucrece*, with its well-known dedication to that nobleman, being published in this year—it will become evident that *Romeo and Juliet*, in common with the plays mentioned, was produced with that nobleman's interests in view.

The tangled love affairs of Southampton and Shakespeare are reflected in the action of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and I have given my reasons for dating its first production upon the occasion of the marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage to the Countess of Southampton on 2nd May 1594. While the action of that play depicts Southampton as recently, or still, enamoured of the "dark lady," the satisfactory ending of the lovers' troubles seems to indicate that he had at last come—or, at least, Shakespeare hoped he had come—to his senses in regard to that affair.

Jack shall have his Jill
Naught shall go ill
The man shall have his mare again
And all shall be well.

It is not likely that Lord Burghley arranged the match between Lady Vere and the new Earl of Derby until some time after the young Earl had come into his titles through the death of his elder brother in the middle of April 1594; it is therefore probable that Southampton was still supposed to be affianced to Lady Vere as late as 2nd May in that year.

We have no clue to the exact date at which Southampton, having met and fallen in love with Elizabeth Vernon, renounced his quest of the "dark lady"; but that this change occurred some time between 2nd May 1594 and May 1595 is evident. In May 1594 his entanglement

with the "dark lady" is reflected in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is also caricatured in *Willobie his Avis*, which, though written earlier in the year, was not published until September 1594. In September 1595, Rowland Whyte, in a letter to Henry Sidney, writes: "my lord Southampton doth with too much familiarity court the fair mistress Vernon, while his friends observing the Queen's humours towards my lord Essex, do what they can to bring her to favour him but it is as yet in vain." From this it is clear that Southampton's affections had for some time been engaged in this quarter. Southampton's infatuation for Elizabeth Vernon was well known and of some duration in September 1595. The Queen's consent to a marriage had been sought and refused in May 1595, and Southampton's friends were now again endeavouring to secure her acquiescence. The phrase "too much familiarity" would not then bear the unpleasant significance given it by some critics, but would refer to the undisguised attentions which this wilful and headstrong young lover openly paid to Mistress Vernon, despite the Queen's already expressed disapproval of the match. The point in the words "while his friends observing the Queen's humours to my lord Essex do what they can to bring her to favour him" is, that Essex, being Elizabeth Vernon's cousin, friendly to the proposed match, and now in high favour with the Queen, Southampton's friends, considering Essex's influence, conceived the time propitious for renewing their endeavours to secure her approval.

From the time that Elizabeth first began to show favour to Essex, there existed in the Court a tacit cabal to combat his influence with the Queen, which, aided by his own unreasonable and fiery temper, eventually wrought his

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ruin. While Lord Cobham and Raleigh at times openly showed their opposition to Essex, Burghley and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, while protesting friendship, opposed him more persistently, but with more insidious methods, than either. The Cecils, in endeavouring to ally Southampton with their own family, not only sought an advantageous match for Elizabeth Vere, but desired also to introduce into the social life of the Court, as their relative and ally, this handsome and accomplished young peer, perchance to supplant Essex in the Queen's favour. Love that laughs at locksmiths, however, now laughed at a prime minister, by flouting the proposed marriage with his granddaughter, and throwing Southampton into the arms of the Essex faction, through his infatuation for Essex's cousin, Elizabeth Vernon.

We have proof, then, in Rowland Whyte's letter, that some time before September 1595, Southampton, having forsworn his quest of Avisá, was, and had been for some time, enamoured of a woman in his own station in life, whom, but for the Queen's opposition, he would have married.

The object of his passion for and pursuit of the "dark lady" is evident in the fact that she was already married and so far his social inferior. This change had taken place some time after 2nd May 1594. I am inclined to date it in the summer of 1594, and in December of this year to date the first production of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which play other incidents of Southampton's life that occurred in this autumn are also reflected.

Lady Elizabeth Vere, towards whom Southampton's friends had recently endeavoured to guide his fancy, was married to the Earl of Derby in January 1595. Upon

7th December in this same year, Sir Thomas Heneage and his wife—Southampton's mother—entertained the Queen in their new home in the Savoy Palace, the official residence of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to which office Heneage had been recently appointed by the Queen.

It appears probable that Southampton's interest in Elizabeth Vernon had its inception before this date, and that *Romeo and Juliet* was written for and performed upon this occasion before the Queen, with the object of softening her opposition to the match, by presenting the disastrous possibilities in a case where the passionate attachment of an ardent, high-spirited and youthful couple is stemmed in its natural course by the unsympathetic exercise of arbitrary power. Southampton, even in later life intense, fiery and headstrong, was at this period a typical Romeo. In Romeo, a Montague at feud with the Capulets yet passionately in love with a daughter of that house, we see Southampton, previously at "emulations" with Essex and his faction, now, and possibly at first sight, tempestuously in love with Essex's cousin. Romeo forswears "that same pale, hard-hearted wretch, that Rosaline," a "white wench" with "black eyes," for the fair Juliet. Southampton forsakes the "dark lady," whose "eyes are raven black," for the "fair mistress Vernon."

It is agreed by all critics that Shakespeare based his play upon Brooke's poem of *Romeus and Juliect*, though it is usually suggested that he also had knowledge of the prose version of the tale in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. In neither of these versions, nor in the original Italian of Bandello, is there any suggestion of impropriety in the

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love of Romeus for the lady who preceded Juliet in his affections. In fact, she is represented as severely cold and chaste in all three versions. Remembering the fidelity with which, as a rule, Shakespeare follows his originals, the fleshly suggestiveness he gives to Romeo's passion for Rosaline was evidently the result of personal and subjective considerations. In the faint sketch that Shakespeare gives us of Rosaline, it is clear that he had the "dark lady" in mind, and also, that at the time of the composition of this play he had read Roydon's description of Avis, in *Willobie his Avis*, which was published in September 1594.

In Act I. Scene i. Rosaline is described in the following dialogue :

- BENVOLIO. Tell me in sadness who is that you love ?
 ROMEO. What, shall I groan and tell thee ?
 BEN. Groan ! why, no ;
 But sadly tell me who.
 ROM. Bid a sick man in sadness make his will :
 Oh, word ill urged to one that is so ill !
 In sadness, cousin, I do love a woman.
 BEN. I aim'd so near where I supposed you loved.
 ROM. A right good mark-man ! And she's fair I love.
 BEN. A right fair mark, fair coz, is soonest hit.
 ROM. Well, in that hit you miss : *she'll not be hit*
 With Cupid's arrow ; she hath Dian's wit,
 And in strong proof of chastity well arm'd.
 From love's weak childish bow she lives un-
 harm'd,
 She will not stay the siege of loving terms,
 Nor bide the encounter of assailing eyes,
 Nor ope *her lap to saint-seducing gold* :
 O, she is rich in beauty only poor
 That when she dies, with beauty dies her store.

If the figures, imagery and classical terms employed in this passage be critically compared with the following

verses from *Willobie his Avis*, the source of Shakespeare's imagery and classicism becomes evident :

Then Pallas gave a reaching head,
With deep conceites, and *passing wit*,
A setled mind, not fancie-led,
Abhorring Cupid's frantique fit,
With modest lookes, and blushing cheekes,
A *filed tongue* which none mislikes.

Diana deckt the remnant partes,
With features brave, that nothing lacke,
A quiver full of pearcing darts,
She gave her hanging at her backe ;
And in her hand a golden shaft,
To conquer Cupid's creeping craft.

When Juno came to give her wealth,
(Which wanting beauty, wants her life)
She cryde, this face needes not my pelffe,
Great riches sow the seedes of strife :
I doubt not some Olympian power
Will fill *her lap, with Golden shower.*

In lew of Juno's Golden parte
Diana gave her double grace ;
A chast desire, a constant heart,
Disdaine of love in fawning face,
A face, and eye, that should intice,
A smile, that should deceive the wise.

The reprehensible nature of Southampton's interest in *Avisa* is further reflected in Benvolio's and Mercutio's dialogue concerning Romeo's love for Rosaline with which Act II. Scene i. ends ; and again in a later dialogue between these characters in Act II. Scene iv. In Romeo's love for Juliet all grossness vanishes, the passion being etherialised by Juliet's ingenuous abandon. Here, again, Southampton's case is suggested, but now, in his attitude towards Elizabeth Vernon.

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In the sonnet prologue to Act II., Shakespeare portrays this distinction :

CHORUS. Now old desire doth in his death-bed lie,
And young affection gapes to be his heir ;
That fair for which love groan'd for and would die,
With tender Juliet match'd, is now not fair.
Now Romeo is beloved and loves again—

describing the old affair with Rosaline as "desire," and the new love as "young affection," and entirely banishing impurity or grossness by the natural spontaneity and duality of the passion.

When the nature of Romeo's infatuation for Rosaline, as depicted in the broad and flippant tone of the badinage of Benvolio and Mercutio, is contrasted with the tremulous beauty of the first scene in Act II., with its passionate intensity, yet perfect purity—when to the lovers the world narrows down to the limits of Capulet's orchard, and is inhabited by themselves alone—we see the distinction yet more sharply defined.

Again, in Act II. Scene iii., when Romeo comes early in the morning to see Friar Lawrence, his confessor, the sensuous nature of his old passion is recalled :

FRIAR L. Therefore thy earliness doth me assure
Thou art up-roused by some distemperature ;
Or if not so, then here I hit it right,
Our Romeo hath not been in bed to-night.

ROM. That last was true ; the sweeter rest was mine.

FRIAR L. God pardon sin ! wast thou with Rosaline ?

This conception of Romeo's first love affair is entirely Shakespeare's, and is not suggested in any manner by the Italian original nor by the English translations of the story from which he worked.

Though Shakespeare, in this and the other plays already noticed, was influenced by his friendship for and connection with Southampton in the choice and development of his subjects, there is that in the spirit of *Romeo and Juliet* which bespeaks an influence deeper and more absorbing than his interest in or affection for any man. In all of the plays written with Southampton's affairs in mind, and in one evidently written before he had formed an intimacy with that nobleman, we find the figure of the "dark lady" of the Sonnets reflected in some manner. Attracted in the beginning by this woman's vivacity and wit, yet repelled by her reputation, his interest grows with his acquaintance and later develops into an absorbing and resistless passion, which, while never totally blinding him to the imperfections of its object, or to his own mental and moral stultification, for a period completely overrides all scruples of conscience and power of will. Some one (I think it is Gervinus) has said of *Romeo and Juliet*, "this is the only play we know of that love itself has helped to elucidate," and in saying this was totally oblivious of the subjective theory here being developed. No one can read this play intelligently without becoming sensible of this feeling in regard to it.

In *Romeo and Juliet* Shakespeare has presented to us, by reflection, not only the outlines of the story of Southampton's love for Elizabeth Vernon, but also the inward fire and spirit of the love newly awakened in his own being for that interesting woman, the "dark lady," Avisa, Mistress Davenant, who, whatever her faults and imperfections may have been, and however sinned against or sinning, was the one woman of his life who stirred his heart to any recognisable utterance of personal passion—the woman

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of whom he wrote in a later stage of his infatuation, when his judgment was struggling to reassert itself :

O, from what power hast thou this powerful might
With insufficiency my heart to sway ?
To make me give the lie to my true sight,
And swear that brightness doth not grace the day ?
Whence hast thou this becoming of things ill,
That in the very refuse of thy deeds
There is such strength and warrantise of skill,
That, in my mind, thy worst all best exceeds ?

An analysis of the subsidiary action of the play, and the manner in which it diverges from the plot and action of the translations of the Italian story upon which it is based, and a consideration of the bearing of these divergences upon the incidents of Southampton's life during the period when the play was written, will further display its subjective interest.

Undue importance has been given by certain critics to what is called the Italian atmosphere of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Romeo and Juliet*, and much baseless speculation has been indulged in regarding the reason for Shakespeare's Italian leanings at the period of the composition of these plays. It has even been suggested that Shakespeare paid a visit to Italy at that time. The pronounced Italian atmosphere of these plays exists largely in the imagination of the reader who finds it there. If the names of their characters and cities be changed to French or Spanish names the characterisation and atmosphere will fit either country equally as well as Italy. Such limited knowledge or impressions as Shakespeare may have had of Italy at this period he absorbed from the translations of the Italian literature from which he took the groundwork of these plays.

Shakespeare's interest in Italy and Italian subjects was due to his association with Southampton and those of that nobleman's intimate friends who had visited Italy. Though Southampton may have gone to Italy after the accession of James I. in 1603, we have evidence that he was not there before that date. He made frequent visits to France, however, in these earlier years, and to that fact, and his influence upon Shakespeare, is undoubtedly due the French setting of the still earlier plays of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won*.

However Italian and southern the atmosphere of *Romeo and Juliet* may appear when viewed in the light of modern social and civic conditions, when such questions as the "giving" or the "taking of the wall" are no longer thought of by even the most truculent, a critical study of Elizabethan history, literature, and especially of Elizabethan epistolatory correspondence will show that the social conditions presented in this play—the family feuds descending even to the serving men of the estranged families or factions, the chip-on-the-shoulder attitude of the young gallants, the passionate intensity of the love-making, the window-scaling, elopements and secret marriages, and, in fact, the fiery, impetuous and unrestrained spirit of the whole play—very faithfully reflect phases of English life as it was lived by the younger nobility and gentry of that period.

In the fleeting glimpses that we catch of Southampton's life, and of the lives of his most intimate friends and associates, in the letters and records of the times, we find this passionate and romantic spirit strongly displayed. No sacrifice seems to be too great if made on behalf of a friend, and no cause too trivial to provoke a quarrel with an enemy.

While Southampton had not visited Italy in 1593 or

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1594, several of his boon companions, with whom Shakespeare must have come frequently into contact at that period, had spent much time there. Amongst the most intimate of Southampton's friends at this time and for several years later, there are two men whose personal traits supplied Shakespeare with models for the characterisation developed in Mercutio and Benvolio, and the incidents of whose lives at this immediate period furnished groundwork for details of his plot and action.

Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers were sons of Sir John Danvers, a landed gentleman of Wiltshire, whose estate was situated within a short distance of Southampton's Tichfield property. Southampton had evidently known both of them from childhood. Sir Charles Danvers, though several years Southampton's senior, seems to have been very intimate with him and completely devoted to his interests. At the time of his execution in 1601, when he was condemned on account of his participation in Essex's and Southampton's rebellion, he confessed on the scaffold to a special hatred of Lord Grey on the ground that Grey was "ill-affected to my lord Southampton." Sir Henry Danvers, being nearer to Southampton's own age, seems, however, to have been his more intimate companion. He made his first appearance at Court two or three years before Southampton. Shortly after coming to Court, he made a Continental tour, spending considerable time in Italy; he also saw service in Flanders, where he distinguished himself and was knighted by Lord Willoughby. In November 1593 he was in London, when we have record that a catalogue of Italian books was sent to him from Venice. A month later—that is, on 13th December 1593—we find him held as a prisoner in the Marshalsea owing to his participa-

tion in a brawl or duel, in which he was wounded in the hand. It is probable that this fight was a precursor to and connected with similar troubles in which we find both him and his brother, and, incidentally, Southampton, involved in the autumn of 1594.

A family feud seems to have existed for some years between the Danvers family and that of Sir John Long, whose estates were contiguous to the Danvers' property in Wiltshire. We cannot trace the beginnings of this feud; it may have been generations old. It evidently was not confined to country-side bickerings, but apparently continued to exhibit itself upon the chance meetings of the feudists and their servants or retainers in London. Its recrudescence in or about 1593 was caused by Sir John Danvers, in his capacity as justice of the peace, having committed Sir William and Sir Henry Long, sons of Sir John, to prison for theft. What this alleged theft was we cannot learn, but presumably the charge was constructive: neighbours at enmity having contiguous estates can easily find fuel for their animosity. Cattle breaking enclosure and straying into neighbouring fields, being impounded and held pending the payment of alleged damages, might be construed as theft before an interested and prejudiced judge. The offence of the Long brothers was possibly the result of some such neighbourhood trouble. In a fight between the two factions that ensued shortly afterwards, *a serving man of the Danvers was killed by the Longs*. The records do not tell us where this incident of the troubles took place, but there is reason to believe that it occurred in London, in December 1593, and that it was as a result of this broil that Sir Henry Danvers was wounded and in the Marshalsea at that date.

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The strict injunctions from the Court to keep the peace that usually followed such altercations evidently decided the disputants to seek a settlement of their feud where they could do so without the interference of the civic authorities or the knowledge of the Court.

Sir Henry Long having challenged Sir Charles Danvers to a duel, the meeting took place in Wiltshire, and developed into another general combat between the principals and their retainers, in which Sir Henry Long was killed, not by Sir Charles Danvers whom he had challenged, but by his younger brother Sir Henry.

The Danvers brothers now fled to Whitely Lodge, one of Southampton's country residences where he was staying at that time. With Southampton's help they succeeded in getting out of the country and passing over to France before warrants for their arrest could be served. In the records of the coroner's inquiry that was held, while both Southampton and certain of his retainers, including John Florio, figure conspicuously, the full part they took in this affair was evidently veiled by the sympathies of the local witnesses, who were probably tenants of Southampton or of Sir John Danvers.

When knowledge of these troubles reached the Court, the Danvers brothers were outlawed : Southampton seems to have escaped any serious consequences from his participation in the affair. This was probably due to the influence of Essex, who now, and for a year or two later, was at the zenith of his favour with Elizabeth. Thereafter, both Southampton and the Danvers brothers were devoted partisans of Essex.

In the Italian story of *Romeus and Juliett*, and its English translations, Romeus has but one intimate friend

—Mercutio—who is there represented as a mere carpet-knight ; in Brook's poem he is described as " a courtier bold among the bashful maids." Shakespeare's Mercutio is not only a brilliant wit but an inveterate fire-eater, while there is no prototype whatever in the original story for his second friend, Benvolio. The dialogue in Act III. Scene i. displays the whimsically truculent characters of the pair :

BEN. I pray thee, good Mercutio, let's retire :

The day is hot, the Capulets abroad,

And if we meet, we shall not 'scape a brawl ;

For now these hot days is the mad blood stirring.

MER. Thou art like one of those fellows that when he enters the confines of a tavern claps me his sword upon the table, and says, " God send me no need of thee ! " and by the operation of the second cup draws it on the drawer, when indeed there is no need.

BEN. Am I like such a fellow ?

MER. Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved.

BEN. And what to ?

MER. Nay, an there were two such, we should have none shortly, for one would kill the other. Thou ! Why, thou wilt quarrel with a man that hath a hair more, or a hair less, in his beard than thou hast : thou wilt quarrel with a man for cracking nuts, having no other reason but because thou hast hazel eyes ; what eye, but such an eye, would spy out such a quarrel ? thy head is as full of quarrels as an egg is full of meat, and yet thy head hath been beaten as addle as an egg for quarrelling : thou hast quarrelled with a man for coughing in the street, because he hath wakened thy dog that hath lain asleep in the sun : didst thou not fall out with a tailor for wearing his new doublet before Easter ? with another, for tying his new shoes with old riband ? and yet thou wilt tutor me from quarrelling.

BEN. An I were so apt to quarrel as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter.

Upon the appearance of the Capulets, Mercutio, who

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has described and criticised Benvolio's pugnacity, by his own action fits the description perfectly to himself :

BEN. By my head, here come the Capulets.

MER. By my heel, I care not.

TYB. Follow me close, for I will speak to them. Gentlemen, good den : a word with one of you.

MER. And but one word with one of us ? Couple it with something ; make it a word and a blow.

TYB. You will find me apt enough to that, sir, an you will give me occasion.

MER. Could you not take the same occasion without giving ?

TYB. Mercutio, thou consort'st with Romeo,—

MER. Consort ! what, dost thou make us minstrels ? An thou make minstrels of us, look to hear nothing but discords : here's my fiddlestick ; here's that shall make you dance. Zounds, consort !

In neither the Italian original of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, nor in the English translations, does any meeting occur between the retainers of the estranged factions previous to the one general combat in which Thebault is killed, *nor are any originals indicated for the bellicose serving-men*, Samson, Gregory and Abraham of Shakespeare's play.

While this feud and the incidents of its activity at this particular time (December 1593 to October 1594) evidently supplied Shakespeare with the basis for these divergences from the characterisation and action of the old story, it was by no means a singular or isolated case, but was thoroughly characteristic of the spirit of the times, and its action and incidents very typical of phases of contemporary London life. I cannot illustrate this better than by quoting a portion of a report for a single London week, made by Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Burghley in 1584, ten years before the year in which I date this play :

“ Right Honourable, and my very good lord, upon

Whitsundaye, there was a very good sermon preached at the new churchyard near Bethlehem, whereat my lord Mayor was with his bretherne. And by reason no playes were the same day, all the citie was quiett. . . . Upon the same Weddensdaye at night, two companions, one being a tailor and the other a clerk of the Common Pleas, bothe of the Duchie, and bothe very lewd fellowes, fell out about an harlott, and the tailor, the prentises and other light personnes, thinking the clerk was ran into Lyon's Inne, ran to the house with 300 at the least, broke downe the wyndowes of the house, and strooke at the gentilmen. During which broyle, one Raynold's, a baker's sonne, came into Fleet Strete, and there made solemne proclamation for clockes. The streate rose and tooke hym and brought hym unto me. And the next daye we indicted hym also, for this misdemeanour, with many more.

"Upon Weddensdaye, Thursdaye, Fridaye, and Satterdaye, we dyd nothing else but sitt in commysion, and examine these misdemeanours. We had good helpe of my Lord Anderson, and Mr Sackforthe.

"Upon Sondaie, at afternoon, one brewer's man killed another at Isylyngton. The lyke parte was done at White Chappel, at the same time.

"The same Sondaie, at night, my Lord Fitzgerald, with a number of gentilmen with hym, at Moore-Gate, met a tall yong fellowe, being a prentize, and strook hym upon the face with his hatt. Whereupon my Lord and his companie were glad to take a house, and dyd skarcely escape without great danger. The sheriff came and fett him to his house, where he lodged; and imprisoned one Colton, that procured my Lord to misuse the prentize. The same night, at Aldersgate Street, a prentise was put in the Kage, and the kage was broken by a number of lewd fellowes, and I hearing thereof dyd send my men for hym, and sent hym to the Counter, where to-morrow he shall answere for his misdemeanour with others.

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“ A Frenchman, a dweller in Flete Street, a hanger upon Monsieur Malvesour, for having received a Frenche boye into his house, and for the conveying hym awaye, who had robbed one of my Lord of Bedford's gentilmen, was brought unto me. My Lord Malvesour sent unto me for hym, and said he wold do justice unto hym hymselfe. I told the messenger what the lawe was, and wyllled hym to bring me sureties, and he should be bailed, untill the Lords were certified thereof. The which they refused to do. But to-morrowe, at the oier and determiner, I will do as I am advised by my Lords the Justices. I sent the prisoner, with the cause, unto Mr Treasurer, thinking he wold, being a counsellor, have taken order therein ; but he returned the prisoner, agayne to me. Surelie, my Lord, I love not to have to deale with these embassadors, for surelie I do often see, heare, and fynde things done by them, that are neither godly nor honourable.

“ The eldest sonne of Mr Henrie I heare upon Mondaye, being yesterdaye fowght in Cheapeside with one Boat, that is, or lately was, Mr Vice-Chamberlayn's man ; and all was which of them was the better gentilman, and for taking of the wall. This daie Mr Cheney of the Boyes, brought me his youngest sonne, being nephew to Sir Henrie Lee, and wold needes have me to send hym to Bridewell, where he had provided a chamber for hym. But I wold not agree thereunto, but sent hym to be kept with my Lord of Wynt's bailiff's house, the which is a place bothe sweete and cleane. The yonge gent. hathe hurt two whereof I learn they are lyke to die. The gentilman, as I can perceyve is wild, *et lucidus inter valla*. And even now cometh in my Lord of Winton's baileff and telleth me he is glad to hire three men to kepe hym both daye and night in this extreme frenzie.

“ This Weddensdaye morning, the oier and determiner sat at Newgate, for the quieting of the dailie and nightlie brawles. There appeared my Lord Fitzgerald and one

Colton of eighteen yeares of age (more bold than wise), a marvelous audacious youth, standing altogether upon his genterie. It is fell out, that by due examination my Lord of Kildare's sonne delt very wisely, well, and circumspectly, without any manner of ill behaviour in any manner of wise. Mr Wynter, son and heir of Mr George Wynter, deceased, was there, and advised my Lord so to do for tyme's experience. Mr Doctor Lewes and the Admiral commission, have made hym a man of good understanding.

"An old musicion of the Quene's, had this last night *meretricem in suo lectulo*. One Alen a constable, being homo barbatus, the Italian most violentlie tore off Alen's beard and said he might have a wenche in his chamber for that he was the Quene's man. Aleyn is now become a marquesuto. My Lord Maior hathe bound the Italian to annswere at the next jaole delyverie, June 18, 1584."

CHAPTER IX

THE FOURTH BOOK OF SONNETS. 1594

THE fourth *book* of sonnets to the Earl of Southampton affords strong internal evidence for its date of composition late in the autumn of 1594, at about the same time that *Romeo and Juliet* also was written. Two sonnets are lacking to make this *book* a complete twenty-sonnet sequence ; either one or both of the missing sonnets evidently began this sequence, which starts somewhat abruptly in its present form. No hiatus will be found elsewhere in the sequence, which plainly concludes with the sonnet I have placed at the end.

The best argument for the sequential order I give the sonnets in this *book* is the plain sense of the *book* itself.

The first sonnet in the *book*, as it now appears, refers to a recent poetical composition of our poet's :

Spend'st thou thy fury on *some worthless song*,
Darkening thy power to lend *base subjects* light ?

This I conceive to be an allusion to *Lucrece*, which was entered on the Stationers' Registers in May 1594.

I have shown that the second *book* of sonnets, written during a period of separation, grows somewhat admonitory in tone towards the end, and that the third *book* dealing with the "dark lady" is decidedly critical of Southampton's behaviour. I have further suggested the admonitory intention of *Lucrece*. Not since the autumn of 1592, when

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the first *book* of sonnets was written (at the time when Southampton is represented as standing "on the top of happy hours," that is, in his nineteenth year, at the end of his teens), has Shakespeare indulged in the theme of the group now under consideration—the giving of fame by his verse to his patron.

While the friends have probably met occasionally during the two years that have elapsed, their relations have been strained, and everything written by Shakespeare in this interval in which Southampton or his actions are represented reflect or suggest him accusatively or critically. The second and third *books* of sonnets, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Lucrece* are all directly or inferentially critical and reproachful. Before the autumn of 1594, Southampton has discontinued his pursuit of the "dark lady," fallen in love with Elizabeth Vernon, and re-established friendly relations with Shakespeare. Bearing in mind the natural generosity and impulsiveness of Southampton's character and the unswerving fidelity and permanence of his friendships, we may presume that he now laid his heart entirely open to Shakespeare or else "lied like a gentleman" regarding his behaviour. The 1594 edition of *Willobie his Avis*, which shows Avis successfully repulsing her numerous lovers, probably reflects the actual facts in the case at that stage of her career.

The fourth *book* of sonnets shows us very plainly that Shakespeare met Southampton's advances in a generous spirit, no reference now being made to Southampton's past delinquency. The allusion I find to *Lucrece* in the first sonnet of this group seems by suggestion to deprecate the original admonitory intention of that poem, which he now

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calls a "worthless song" lending "base subjects light." The phrase "worthless song" and the following lines :

Return, forgetful Muse, and straight redeem
In gentle numbers time so idly spent ;
Sing to the ear that doth thy lays esteem
And gives thy pen both skill and argument—

seem to echo the spirit of the dedication to *Lucrece* and also to express with it Shakespeare's acknowledgment of the receipt of some material evidence of Southampton's interest and friendship :

"The warrant I have of your honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutored lines, makes it assured of acceptance. What I have done is yours, what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours."

Shakespeare's earliest biographer, Nicholas Rowe, reports an instance of Southampton's reputed bounty to Shakespeare as follows :

"There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare's that if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William Davenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted : that my lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to."

While the amount of this gift was probably exaggerated, Davenant's report was doubtless based upon the fact of some singular instance of Southampton's munificence to Shakespeare. I am satisfied that the dedication to *Lucrece* and the first sonnet of the fourth *book* reflect this particular instance, and that whatever the actual nature or amount of the gift may have been, that it was made in about the

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month of May 1594, shortly before the publication of *Lucrece*, when Shakespeare and Southampton met upon the occasion of the marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage to Lady Southampton. From this time, as I have shown,¹ many of the poets and writers of the time who were dependent upon patronage, becoming cognizant of Shakespeare's good fortune, paid assiduous court to Southampton, and some of them being unrewarded, vented their resentment upon Shakespeare.

The second sonnet of this *book* gives us evidence, were it needed, that other sonnets, expressive of the poet's love and Southampton's merits, were previously written, and that some time had elapsed since their composition.

What's in the brain, that ink may character,
Which hath not figured to thee my true spirit ?
What's new to speak, what new to register,
That may express my love, or thy dear merit ?
Nothing, sweet boy ; but yet, like prayers divine,
I must each day say o'er the very same ;
Counting no old thing old, thou mine, I thine,
Even as when first I hallowed thy fair name.

The fourth sonnet intimates that there has been a "sad interim" in the friendship which now is happily ended. This interim indicated not only separation but also estrangement ; it is compared to winter, and the reunion to summer.

Or call it winter, which, being full of care,
Makes summer's welcome thrice more wish'd, more rare.

The fifth sonnet carries on the simile with which the fourth sonnet ends :

How like a winter hath my absence been
From thee, the pleasure of the fleeting year !

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London.* Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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and also informs us that the separation indicated took place during the summer and autumn :

And yet this time removed was summer's time ;
The teeming autumn, big with rich increase.

This sonnet also suggests, by inference, that the reunion occurred late in the autumn or early in the winter.

The sixth sonnet tells of an absence in the spring, the month of April being specifically mentioned : this absence is evidently not to be linked continuously with that of the summer and autumn referred to in the preceding sonnet as " this time removed."

I find no records of Southampton late in the year 1593, nor early in the year 1594 ; it is evident, however, that he was in London some time during that winter and that Shakespeare was there at the same time. We know that the theatres were closed in 1593, owing to the prevalence of the plague, and that Shakespeare's company travelled in the provinces in that year, returning to London in August. They opened again late in December and closed late in January. We do not know when they reopened, but, while the sixth sonnet shows us that Shakespeare and Southampton were apart in April, we may reasonably infer that they met in May, upon the occasion of Lady Southampton's marriage to Sir Thomas Heneage ; we have added evidence of this in the entry of *Lucrece* upon the Stationers' Registers, with its well-known dedication to Southampton in that month. The friends evidently parted again at this time, but not until an explanation had taken place and confidence had been restored between them.

I find no actual records of Southampton during the year 1594 until the month of October, when we learn that he was at Whitely Lodge in Hampshire, and implicated

in the troubles of the Danvers. It is probable, however, that he was in London during the winter of 1593 at the time the Danvers were there ; and evident that he was in London upon the occasion of his mother's marriage in May, and again in December at the entertainment given at the Savoy Palace by Sir Thomas Heneage to the Queen ; upon which occasion I suggest the first presentation of *Romeo and Juliet*, which I argue was written with Southampton's affairs in mind and for presentation before the Queen in the hope of inducing her to allow Southampton's marriage to Elizabeth Vernon.

The next sonnet of this *book* in which I find any chronological indication is the thirteenth, in the following lines :

To me, fair friend, you never can be old,
 For as you were when first your eye I eyed,
 Such seems your beauty still. *Three winters cold*
Have from the forests shook three summer's pride,
Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd
In process of the seasons have I seen,
Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd,
Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green.

Shakespeare here says that three winters, three springs and three summers have passed since "first your eye I eyed," which evidently means since Southampton and Shakespeare made their first acquaintance in, or shortly before, the autumn of 1591, upon the occasion of the Queen's progress to Cowdray and Tichfield. The passing of three winters, three springs and three summers since that time would therefore fix the composition of this sonnet and the sequence, of which it is plainly an integral part, at the exact date for which I now contend—the autumn of 1594. Let us examine the connection of this sonnet with the two that follow. The thirteenth sonnet

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ends with lines in which the poet apostrophises ages yet to be :

. . . hear this, thou age unbred ;
Ere you were born was beauty's summer dead.

this gives him an idea for the following sonnet, in which he refers to ages past, telling Southampton that

. . . all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time all you prefiguring.

In the fifteenth sonnet Shakespeare knits up the themes of the two preceding sonnets :

Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
Of the wide world dreaming on things to come,
Can yet the lease of my true love control,
Supposed as forfeit to a confined doom.

His "true love" has been "supposed as forfeit to a confined doom" by his own "fear," in the concluding lines of the thirteenth sonnet :

For *fear* of which hear this thou age unbred
Ere you were born was beauty's summer *dead*.

The lines—

. . . nor the prophetic soul
Of the wide world dreaming on things to come—

are echoed by the following lines in the fourteenth sonnet :

So all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time, all you prefiguring.

We come now to a consideration of lines that led Gerald Massey astray, and upon the inferred evidence of which he dated this sonnet in the year 1603, arguing that it refers to the death of Elizabeth, and that it is a congratulatory sonnet, written upon the liberation of Southampton from

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the Tower, at the accession of James I. Other critics have dated this sonnet in 1598, supposing it to refer to the Peace of Vervins, and also to a plot against the life of the Queen, which was frustrated in that year. These events are supposed to be indicated by the following lines :

The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage ;
Incertainties now crown themselves assured,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age.

At whatever date this sonnet was written, the phrase " mortal moon " refers to the Queen, and the words following, to a recent escape from a threatened peril. All the incidents of a topical nature reflected in this sonnet may be accounted for better by the events of the year 1594 than by those of any other year in which this *book* of sonnets might have been written.

In June 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, formerly physician to the Queen, after an extended trial, was executed for his complicity in an alleged plot to poison Elizabeth. This plot was shown to have many ramifications, and was supposed to have been fathered by Ybarro, the Spanish Envoy in the Netherlands, with the cognizance of King Philip of Spain. A month or two after the execution of Lopez, two English Catholics—Rowland Yorke and Henry Young—lately returned from the Continent, were also accused, tried, convicted and finally executed in the autumn of 1594, for another alleged plot to murder Elizabeth. These two men were kept apart and examined separately many times ; each accused the other of having " presaged " the Queen's death, and both now tried to explain the expressions imputed to them as misconstructions of harmlessly intended conversation. It is evidently

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to the reports of the examinations of these men that Shakespeare refers in the line :

And the sad augurs mock their own presage.

The following lines, which have hitherto been supposed to refer either to the accession of James in 1603, or the Peace of Vervins in 1598—

Incertainties now crown themselves assured,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age—

are also accounted for by international conditions in the autumn of 1594 ; they palpably refer to the peace established late in the autumn of this year between France and Spain ; to which treaty, it was commonly believed at the time, that England also had become a party.

Late in 1593, Henry IV. of France, who had long been the champion of the Protestant cause on the Continent, in order to pacify the Catholic League and end the bloodshed in France, embraced Catholicism. This had the desired effect, and led to the dissolution of the League in that year. Though civil peace was now established, the Spanish troops, which had been brought into France by the League, still carried on the war in Brittany, being mainly opposed, however, by the English troops under Sir John Norris. Early in the autumn of 1594, overtures were begun between France and Spain for the negotiation of a peace which was finally effected late in the autumn. It was generally believed by the English troops in France, and also rumoured in England, that a general peace to which England would be a party would be concluded. The King of Spain wrote to Elizabeth in September, requesting her to send an Envoy to Bayonne to treat of peace ; but, as Burghley

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and the Court suspected, the object of Philip in making peace with France was merely to enable him to concentrate his powers against England. Sir John Norris and his troops were, however, recalled from France late in the autumn, and many believed that England had become a party to the peace, but Norris and his troops were not long in England before they were dispatched to Ireland to meet the increased activities of the Spanish in that quarter. The Spanish, later, failed to live up to the treaty made with France, refusing to evacuate the fortresses they held in Brittany. This breach of faith compelled Henry to declare war with Spain within a year. A general peace was finally concluded in 1598.

Up to the tenth sonnet in this group Shakespeare praises the beauty and merits of his friend, dwelling upon their old friendship, touching lightly upon the temporary estrangement, and rejoicing in their renewed relations. In the tenth sonnet he introduces a new motive—the posthumous fame to be achieved for his patron by his verses—through the agency of which he bespeaks a more permanent memorial than that to be given by “gilded monuments.” This idea is carried through, with supplementary digressions, to the last sonnet of the sequence, which seems exultantly to epitomise the intention and spirit of the nine preceding sonnets :

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme ?
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time.
When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword nor wars quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.

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'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth ; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom.
So, till the judgement that yourself arise,
You live in this, and dwell in lover's eyes.

The late Mr. Thomas Tyler, the most logical champion of the Herbert theory and the protagonist of the Herbert-Fitton theory, both of which necessarily assign the composition of the whole body of the Sonnets to a period later than the beginning of the year 1598, argues for a date later than 7th September in that year for the composition of this particular sonnet, on the assumption that it paraphrases lines from Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, which was entered on the Stationers' Registers at that date. A critical examination of Mr. Tyler's deductions made in the light of the foregoing data and argument regarding the fourth *book* of sonnets will, I believe, convince the reader that in this instance Meres reflects Shakespeare, and not Shakespeare Meres. I will quote Mr. Tyler's argument in full :

“ In the year preceding the publication of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, Francis Meres published his *Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury*. The book was registered on 7th September 1598. In this work the author mentions, and highly eulogises, various contemporary poets. Meres, who was not improbably a personal friend of Shakespeare, makes express mention not only of several of Shakespeare's other works, but alludes also to his 'sugred Sonnets among his private friends.' Are these 'sugred Sonnets' to be identified with the collection published in 1609, or perhaps with a part of it ? It is, of course, possible that Shakespeare may have written sonnets which were never printed, and which have perished. But I should think it not un-

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likely, taking into account the date above mentioned, September 1598, that Meres may very well refer to some of the sonnets in our existing collection. There is, however, in relation to Meres' book, another fact of great importance, namely, that there exist strong grounds for believing that Shakespeare wrote his 55th sonnet after he had seen Meres' book. There is in Meres the following remarkable passage, partly in English, and partly in Latin :

“ ‘ As Ovid saith of his worke :

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec jonis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas ;

“ ‘ And as Horace saith of his :

Exegi monumentum aere perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabelis
Annorum series et fuga temporum ;

“ ‘ So say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes :

Non Ionis ira, imbres, mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,
Hoc opus unda, lues, turbs, venena ruent.

“ ‘ Et quendam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi Dii conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, et pater ipse gentis :

Non tamer annorum, non flamma, nec ensis,
Æternum potuit hoc abolere dieus.—*Tol.* 282.’

“ Meres, it will be observed, quotes both from Ovid and Horace, giving also an appendix of his own, partly in English and partly in Latin. Then in his appendix he says ‘ so say I severally,’ etc., respectively of each of the poets named, that ‘ not the anger of Jupiter, storms, Mars, the sword, flame, old age, the wave, pestilence, the whirlwind, poison, shall bring this work to ruin.’ He adds that, though there should be a conspiracy of the three deities, Cronus,

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Vulcan, Jupiter, for the purpose of overthrowing the work, it shall be proof against the power of time. Let the reader now turn to Shakespeare's 55th sonnet :

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme ?
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time.
When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth ; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wears this world out to the ending doom.
So, till the judgment that yourself arise,
You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes.

"Malone compared the commencement of Horace's ode, 'Exegi monumentum,' etc., apparently not remembering the quotation of this ode by Meres. The resemblance of Shakespeare's sonnet to Horace's ode is manifest, not only in the thought, but also to some extent in the language. Now, though evidence is wanting that Shakespeare possessed much, if any, acquaintance with Horace generally, yet we need have no difficulty in believing that, after Meres' book had been published Shakespeare's attention would be specially directed to the ode in question ; or rather to that portion of it which Meres had quoted. It may be regarded, indeed, as certain that the award of immortality to himself and other distinguished poets would attract, more or less, the notice of Shakespeare. Very likely he received a presentation copy of *Wit's Treasury*. But whether this was the case or not, it is unlikely that he would long remain ignorant of the compliment which had been paid to him. And as evidence that he did in fact become acquainted with Meres' book, it is very noteworthy that there are some things in the 55th sonnet which find their

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analogies, not in the passage from Horace, but in Meres' quotation from Ovid, and particularly in the Latin of Meres' appendix. It is Ovid, and not Horace, who speaks of the destructive agencies of fire and sword, 'nec ignis, nec poterit ferrum.' But the seventh line of the sonnet

Nor Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire shall burn
finds its closest analogy in Meres'

'Non . . . Mars, ferrum, flamma' (not . . . Mars, the sword, flame).

So close, indeed, is the resemblance, that it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that Meres' Latin suggested the line in the sonnet."

If Shakespeare was influenced by either of these quotations from Ovid or Horace the influence is not very strongly reflected verbally. It must be admitted, however, that the verbal analogy noted by Mr. Tyler between Shakespeare's

Nor Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire shall burn
and Meres' own Latin

Non . . . Mars ferrum flamma

appears to be suggestively coincident. In this instance, however, the evidence clearly indicates that Meres reflects Shakespeare, not that Shakespeare reflects Meres. The concluding sonnet of this sequence merely sums up the argument of the preceding seven sonnets; the comparison drawn by Shakespeare between the endurance of his verse and that of more material memorials begins in the tenth sonnet and is continued to the end. Ovid was probably the source of Shakespeare's inspiration and imagery, but not through the medium of the small quotation given by Meres: the fifteenth *Elegy* of the first book of Ovid's "*Amores*" supplied Shakespeare with the basis for his

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theme and also influenced his expression. A few quotations will serve to show the analogy.

Ergo cum silices cum dens patientis aratri
Deperrant arvs carmina morte carent
Cedant carminibus regis regumque triumphi

Carmina sublimis tunc pertura Lucreti
Exitio terras cum dolut una airs

Cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit

Ennius arte careno animosique Actius oris
Casurum nullo tempore nomen habent.

That Shakespeare had knowledge of this particular "Elegy" is proved by the fact that he prefixed two of its lines to *Venus and Adonis* in the preceding year :

Vilia muretur vulgus. Mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula castalia plena ministret aqua.

The concluding line in the sonnet under discussion :

You live in this and dwell in lovers' eyes

practically reproduces the following line from the close of this "Elegy" :

Atque ita sollocito multus amante legar.

In bespeaking future fame for his patron in these eight sonnets Shakespeare anticipates a general fame—the regard of "all posterity." In the last line of the concluding sonnet he limits this fame to the regard of "lovers." It is evident that in this he was influenced by verses of Ovid other than those quoted by Meres. However limited Shakespeare's Latin may have been, he had access to Ovid's "*Amores*" in Marlowe's translations in MS. He also possessed Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, which in certain passages is reflected in these and other sonnets.

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When we take into consideration the fact that in the same publication in which Meres' quotations and alleged analogies occur, Shakespeare's sonnets are referred to for the first time on record and in such a manner as to suggest Meres' personal knowledge of them, the inference is warranted that Meres' own Latin—

*Non Jovis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus
Hoc opus unda, lues, turbo, venena ruent—*

is merely a combination of words and ideas borrowed from Ovid, Horace and Shakespeare, to each of whose works he has previously referred. We may conclude from this that whatever other sonnets of Shakespeare's had at that time come to Meres' notice he had recently read the fourth *book*, and that in mentioning his "sugred sonnets among his private friends," Meres now had this particular sequence in mind.

In the seventh *book* of sonnets to Southampton, which I shall later argue was written towards the end of 1598, and after Meres' *Palladis Tamia* was published, Shakespeare shows knowledge of this reference to his Sonnets and palpably reflects the ode from Horace which Meres quotes. Evidently having seen Meres' book at the time the seventh sequence was near completion, and recognising from the nature of Meres' reference that he alluded to his fourth sonnet sequence, Shakespeare refers to his former protestations of regard for his patron in the following sonnets :

Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
Even those that said I could not love you dearer :
Yet then my judgement knew no reason why
My most full flame should afterwards burn clearer.
But reckoning Time, whose million'd accidents
Creep in 'twixt vows, and change decrees of kings,
Tan sacred beauty, blunt the sharp'st intents,
Divert strong minds to the course of altering things ;

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Alas, why, fearing of Time's tyranny,
Might I not then say ' Now I love you best,'
When I was certain o'er incertainty,
Crowning the present, doubting of the rest ?
Love is a babe ; then might I not say so,
To give full growth to that which still doth grow ?

No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change :
Thy pyramids built up with newer might
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange ;
They are but dressings of a former sight.
Our dates are brief, and therefore we admire
What thou dost foist upon us that is old ;
And rather make them born to our desire
Than think that we before have heard them told.
Thy registers and thee I both defy,
Not wondering at the present nor the past,
For thy records and what we see doth lie,
Made more or less by thy continual haste.
This I do vow, and this shall ever be,
I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee.

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments. Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove :
O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark,
That looks on tempests and is never shaken ;
It is the star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.
Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come ;
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
If this be error and upon me proved,
I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

A comparison will show that Shakespeare's recent acquaintance with the lines from Horace mentioned by Meres is reflected in the second sonnet quoted above, as well as the likelihood that it was Meres' mention of Shake-

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speare's former sonnets that inspired his present allusion to them. There is nothing in any of the preceding sonnets of the seventh sequence which would be likely to send him off on this tangent.

The use of the word "pyramids" in the second sonnet quoted was evidently suggested by its presence in the lines of Horace.

In the plays Shakespeare refers to the pyramids only in *Antony and Cleopatra*, where they would naturally be mentioned, and once in *Macbeth*, which was being acted at the period that *Antony and Cleopatra* was written.

One of the most characteristic things about the working of Shakespeare's mind was his ready suggestibility; it was this phase of his mentality that led him so frequently into the use of puns and verbal quibbles.

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BOOK IV. Where art thou, Muse, that thou forget'st so long
Sonnet i.

To speak of that which gives thee all thy might ?
Spend'st thou thy fury on some worthless song,
Darkening thy power to lend base subjects light ?
Return, forgetful Muse, and straight redeem
In gentle numbers time so idly spent ;

(Thorpe
c.) Sing to the ear that doth thy lays esteem
And gives thy pen both skill and argument.
Rise, resty Muse, my love's sweet face survey,
If Time have any wrinkle graven there ;
If any, be a satire to decay,

And make Time's spoils despised every where.

Give my love fame faster than Time wastes life ;
So thou prevent'st his scythe and crooked knife.

BOOK IV. What's in the brain, that ink may character,
Sonnet ii.

Which hath not figured to thee my true spirit ?
What's new to speak, what new to register,
That may express my love, or thy dear merit ?
Nothing, sweet boy ; but yet, like prayers divine,
I must each day say o'er the very same ;

(Thorpe
cviii.) Counting no old thing old, thou mine, I thine,
Even as when first I hallowed thy fair name.

So that eternal love in love's fresh case
Weighs not the dust and injury of age,
Nor gives to necessary wrinkles place,
But makes antiquity for aye his page ;

Finding the first conceit of love there bred,
Where time and outward form would show it dead.

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BOOK IV. My love is strengthen'd, though more weak in seeming ;

Sonnet iii. I love not less, though less the show appear :

That love is merchandized whose rich esteeming

The owner's tongue doth publish every where.

Our love was new, and then but in the spring,

When I was wont to greet it with my lays ;

(Thorpe As Philomel in summer's front doth sing,

cii.) And stops her pipe in growth of riper days :

Not that the summer is less pleasant now

Than when her mournful hymns did hush the night,

But that wild music burthens every bough,

And sweets grown common lose their dear delight.

Therefore, like her, I sometime hold my tongue,

Because I would not dull you with my song.

BOOK IV. Sweet love, renew thy force ; be it not said

Sonnet iv. Thy edge should blunter be than appetite,

Which but to-day by feeding is allay'd,

To-morrow sharpen'd in his former might :

So, love, be thou ; although to-day thou fill

Thy hungry eyes even till they wink with fulness,

(Thorpe To-morrow see again, and do not kill

lvi.) The spirit of love with a perpetual dulness.

Let this sad interim like the ocean be

Which parts the shore, where two contracted new

Come daily to the banks, that, when they see

Return of love, more blest may be the view ;

Or call it winter, which, being full of care,

Makes summer's welcome thrice more wish'd, more
rare.

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BOOK IV. How like a winter hath my absence been

Sonnet v.

From thee, the pleasure of the fleeting year !
 What freezings have I felt, what dark days seen !
 What old December's bareness every where !
 And yet this time removed was summer's time ;
 The teeming autumn, big with rich increase,
 Bearing the wanton burthen of the prime,
 Like widowed wombs after their lords' decease :
 Yet this abundant issue seem'd to me
 But hope of orphans and unfather'd fruit ;
 For summer and his pleasures wait on thee,
 And, thou away, the very birds are mute ;
 Or, if they sing, 'tis with so dull a cheer
 That leaves look pale, dreading the winter's near.

(Thorpe
xcvii.)

BOOK IV. From you have I been absent in the spring,

Sonnet vi.

When proud-pied April, dress'd in all his trim,
 Hath put a spirit of youth in every thing,
 That heavy Saturn laugh'd and leap'd with him.
 Yet nor the lays of birds, nor the sweet smell
 Of different flowers in odour and in hue,
 Could make me any summer's story tell,
 Or from their proud lap pluck them where they grew :
 Nor did I wonder at the lily's white,
 Nor praise the deep vermilion in the rose ;
 They were but sweet, but figures of delight,
 Drawn after you, you pattern of all those.
 Yet seem'd it winter still, and, you away,
 As with your shadow I with these did play.

(Thorpe
xcviii.)

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BOOK IV. The forward violet thus did I chide :

Sonnet vii. Sweet thief, whence didst thou steal thy sweet that smells,
 If not from my love's breath ? The purple pride
 Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells
 In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dyed.
 The lily I condemned for thy hand,
 (Thorpe xcix.) And buds of marjoram had stol'n thy hair ;
 The roses fearfully on thorns did stand,
 One blushing shame, another white despair ;
 A third, nor red nor white, had stol'n of both,
 And to his robbery had annex'd thy breath ;
 But, for his theft, in pride of all his growth
 A vengeful canker eat him up to death.

More flowers I noted, yet I none could see
 But sweet or colour it had stol'n from thee.

BOOK IV. What is your substance, whereof are you made,

Sonnet viii. That millions of strange shadows on you tend ?
 Since every one hath, every one, one shade,
 And you, but one, can every shadow lend.
 Describe Adonis, and the counterfeit
 Is poorly imitated after you ;

(Thorpe liii.) On Helen's cheek all art of beauty set,
 And you in Grecian tires are painted new :
 Speak of the spring and foison of the year,
 The one doth shadow of your beauty show,
 The other as your bounty doth appear ;
 And you in every blessed shape we know.

In all external grace you have some part,
 But you like none, none you, for constant heart.

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Book IV. O, how much more doth beauty beauteous seem
Sonnet ix. By that sweet ornament which truth doth give !
The rose looks fair, but fairer we it deem
For that sweet odour which doth in it live.
The canker-blooms have full as deep a dye
As the perfumed tincture of the roses,
(Thorpe liv.) Hang on such thorns, and play as wantonly
When summer's breath their masked buds discloses :
But, for their virtue only is their show,
They live unwoo'd and unrespected fade ;
Die to themselves. Sweet roses do not so ;
Of their sweet deaths are sweetest odours made :
And so of you, beauteous and lovely youth,
When that shall vade, by verse distills your truth.

Book IV. O truant Muse, what shall be thy amends
Sonnet x. For thy neglect of truth in beauty dyed ?
Both truth and beauty on my love depends ;
So dost thou too, and therein dignified.
Make answer, Muse : wilt thou not haply say,
" Truth needs no colour, with his colour fix'd ;
(Thorpe ci.) Beauty no pencil, beauty's truth to lay ;
But best is best, if never intermix'd " ?
Because he needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb ?
Excuse not silence so, for 't lies in thee
To make him much outlive a gilded tomb
And to be praised of ages yet to be.
Then do thy office, Muse ; I teach thee how
To make him seem long hence as he shows now.

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BOOK IV. Shall I compare thee to a summer's day ?
 Sonnet xi. Thou art more lovely and more temperate :
 Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,
 And summer's lease hath all too short a date :
 Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
 And often is his gold complexion dimm'd ;
 (Thorpe And every fair from fair sometime declines,
 xviii.) By chance or nature's changing course untrimm'd ;
 But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
 Nor lose possession of that fair thou owest ;
 Nor shall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade,
 When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st :
 So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
 So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

BOOK IV. Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion's paws,
 Sonnet xii. And make the earth devour her own sweet brood ;
 Pluck the keen teeth from the fierce tiger's jaws,
 And burn the long-lived phoenix in her blood ;
 Make glad and sorry seasons as thou fleet'st,
 And do whate'er thou wilt, swift-footed Time,
 (Thorpe To the wide world and all her fading sweets ;
 xix.) But I forbid thee one most heinous crime :
 O, carve not with thy hours my love's fair brow,
 Nor draw no lines there with thine antique pen ;
 Him in thy course untainted do allow
 For beauty's pattern to succeeding men.
 Yet do thy worst, old Time : despite thy wrong,
 My love shall in my verse ever live young.

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- BOOK IV. To me, fair friend, you never can be old,
Sonnet For as you were when first your eye I eyed,
xiii. Such seems your beauty still. Three winters cold
Have from the forests shook three summers' pride,
Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd
In process of the seasons have I seen,
(Thorpe Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd,
civ.) Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green.
Ah, yet doth beauty, like a dial-hand,
Steal from his figure, and no pace perceived ;
So your sweet hue, which methinks still doth stand,
Hath motion, and mine eye may be deceived :
For fear of which, hear this, thou age unbred ;
Ere you were born was beauty's summer dead.

- BOOK IV. When in the chronicle of wasted time
Sonnet I see descriptions of the fairest wights,
xiv. And beauty making beautiful old rhyme
In praise of ladies dead and lovely knights,
Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,
Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,
(Thorpe I see their antique pen would have express'd
cvi.) Even such a beauty as you master now.
So all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time, all you prefiguring ;
And, for they look'd but with divining eyes,
They had not skill enough your worth to sing :
For we, which now behold these present days,
Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise.

BOOK IV. Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
 Sonnet xv. Of the wide world dreaming on things to come,
 Can yet the lease of my true love control,
 Supposed as forfeit to a confined doom.
 The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,
 And the sad augurs mock their own presage ;
 (Thorpe Incertainties now crown themselves assured,
 cvii.) And peace proclaims olives of endless age.
 Now with the drops of this most balmy time
 My love looks fresh, and Death to me subscribes,
 Since, spite of him, I'll live in this poor rhyme,
 While he insults o'er dull and speechless tribes :
 And thou in this shalt find thy monument,
 When tyrants' crests and tombs of brass are spent.

BOOK IV. When I have seen by Time's fell hand defaced
 Sonnet xvi. The rich-proud cost of outworn buried age ;
 When sometime lofty towers I see down-razed,
 And brass eternal slave to mortal rage ;
 When I have seen the hungry ocean gain
 Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,
 (Thorpe And the firm soil win of the watery main,
 lxiv.) Increasing store with loss and loss with store ;
 When I have seen such interchange of state,
 Or state itself confounded to decay ;
 Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminare,
 That Time will come and take my love away.
 This thought is as a death, which cannot choose
 But weep to have that which it fears to lose.

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Book IV. Since brass, nor stone, nor earth, nor boundless sea,
 Sonnet But sad mortality o'er-sways their power,
 xvii. How with this rage shall beauty hold a plea
 Whose action is no stronger than a flower?
 O, how shall summer's honey breath hold out
 Against the wreckful siege of battering days,
 (Thorpe When rocks impregnable are not so stout,
 lxv.) Nor gates of steel so strong, but Time decays?
 O fearful meditation! where, alack,
 Shall Time's best jewel from Time's chest lie hid?
 Or what strong hand can hold his swift foot back?
 Or who his spoil of beauty can forbid?
 O, none, unless this miracle have might,
 That in black ink my love may still shine bright.

Book IV. Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
 Sonnet Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme;
 xviii. But you shall shine more bright in these contents
 Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time.
 When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
 And broils root out the work of masonry,
 (Thorpe Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
 lv.) The living record of your memory.
 'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
 Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
 Even in the eyes of all posterity
 That wear this world out to the ending doom.
 So, till the judgement that yourself arise,
 You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes.

CHAPTER X

THE RIVAL POET BOOK OF SONNETS. 1595

NEARLY every well-known poet contemporary with Shakespeare has, at some time, been suggested as the "rival poet" indicated by Shakespeare in the Sonnets, but as a rule upon shadowy and far-fetched grounds.

The first suggestion regarding Chapman in this connection was made by Professor Minto in 1885. In his *Characteristics of the English Poets*, published at that date, he asks, "Who is the rival poet?" and then continues:

"So complete is the parallel of the course of true friendship to the course of true love that even the passion of jealousy finds a place. Nine sonnets, 78 to 86, are occupied with the pretensions of other poets, and one poet in particular, to the gracious countenance of his patron.

"In the 80th sonnet he cries:

O how I faint when I of you do write
Knowing a better spirit doth use your name.

Who was this 'better spirit'? I hope I shall not be held guilty of hunting after paradox if I say that every possible poet but the right one, nor of presumption if I say that he is so obvious that his escape from notice is something little short of miraculous. The 86th sonnet supplies ample means of identification:

Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,
Bound for the prize of all too precious you,
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,
Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew?

Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write
 Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead ?
 No, neither he nor his compeers by night
 Giving him aid, my verse astonished.
 He, nor that affable familiar ghost
 Which nightly gulls him with intelligence,
 As victors, of my silence cannot boast ;
 I was not sick of any fear from thence :
 But when your countenance fill'd up his line,
 Then lack'd I matter ; that enfeebled mine.

“ The allusions to supernatural assistance are here very pointed. Chapman was a man of overpowering enthusiasm, ever eager in magnifying poetry and advancing fervid claims to supernatural inspiration. In 1594 he published a poem called *The Shadow of Night*, which goes far to establish his identity with Shakespeare's rival ; in the dedication, after animadverting severely on vulgar searchers after knowledge, he exclaims, ‘ Now what a supererogation in wit this is, to think skill so mightily pierced with their loves, that she should prostitutely show them her secrets, when she will scarcely be looked upon by others but with invocation, fasting and watching, yea, not without having drops of their souls like an heavenly familiar,’ etc.

“ Here we have something like a profession of the familiar ghost that Shakespeare so saucily laughs at.”

While the one parallel noted by Professor Minto is very suggestive it can hardly be considered conclusive proof of Chapman's identity as the rival poet if unsupported by other evidence. Though some critics have accepted Professor Minto's suggestion as proof of his theory, others have since repudiated it and proposed other poets for that figure. To Professor Minto's happy inference, however, I must acknowledge my indebtedness. It was the key to all my findings regarding Chapman.

Malone's suggestion of dividing the Sonnets into two

series, one addressed to a man and one to a woman, was the first firm ground upon which any working hypothesis regarding the Sonnets could be based. Dr. Drake's proposal of Southampton, as the patron addressed, about forty years later marks the next critical advance. Professor Minto's inference regarding Chapman was the first oasis of fact in a desert of speculation covering the succeeding seventy years.

Finding in Professor Minto's suggestion a greater plausibility than in any other regarding the identity of the rival poet, I realised that the full identification of Chapman would mean much more than the mere solution of the question of the identity of that figure. I argued that Shakespeare's opposition to Chapman was not gratuitous, and that it was caused by considerations more deeply seated than literary rivalry for the favour of a patron. I therefore critically examined the dedication of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, in which Chapman mentions a "heavenly familiar," proposed by Professor Minto as the original of Shakespeare's "affable familiar ghost" of the 86th sonnet, to ascertain if this jocularly satirical parallel was inspired by any previously displayed antagonism on the part of Chapman towards Shakespeare.

In order that the reader may clearly follow the argument I will quote the whole dedication :

" To

MY DEAR AND MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

MASTER MATTHEW ROYDON.

" It is an exceeding rapture of delight in the deep search of knowledge (none knoweth better than thyself, sweet Matthew) that maketh men manfully indure the

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extremes incident to that Herculean labour : from flints must the gorgonean fount be smitten. Men must be shod by Mercury, girt with Saturn's adamantine sword, take the shield from Pallas, the helm from Pluto, and have the eyes of Græa (as Hesiodus arms Perseus against Medusa) before they can cut off the viperous head of benumbing ignorance, or subdue their monstrous affections to most beautiful judgment.

"How then may a man stay his marvailing to see *passion-driven men, reading* but to curtail a tedious hour, and altogether hidebound with affection to great men's fancies, take upon them as killing censures as if they were *judgment's butchers*, or as if the life of truth lay tottering in their verdicts.

"Now what a supererogation in wit this is, to think skill so mightily pierced with their loves, that she should prostitutely show them her secrets, when she will scarcely be looked upon by others but with invocation, fasting, watching ; yea, not without having drops of their souls like an heavenly familiar. Why then should our *Intonsi Catones* with their profit-ravished gravity esteem her true favours such questionless vanities, as with what part soever thereof they seem to be something delighted, they queamishly commend it for a pretty toy. Good Lord how serious and eternal are their idolatrous platts for riches ! No marvel sure they here do so much good with them. And heaven no doubt will grovel on the earth (as they do) to embrace them. But I stay this spleen when I remember, my good Matthew, how joyfully oftentimes you reported unto me that most ingenious Darby, deep-searching Northumberland, and skill-embracing heir of Hunsdon had most profitably entertained learning in themselves, to the vital warmth of freezing science, and to the admirable lustre of their true nobility, whose high-deserving virtues may cause me hereafter strike that fire out of darkness, which the brightest day shall envy for beauty. I should

write more but my hasting out of town taketh me from the paper, so preferring thy allowance in this poor and strange trifle, to the passport of a whole city of others, I rest as resolute as Seneca, satisfying myself if but a few, if one, or if none like it.

“By the true admirer of thy virtues and perfectly avowed friend
G. CHAPMAN.”

Here Chapman metaphorically arms himself and, incidentally also, “sweet Matthew” with the whole armour of scholarship, and contrasts himself and his ally with “passion-driven men,” “Intonsi Catones,” “judgment’s butchers,” the “viperous head of benumbing ignorance,” who make “idolatrous platts for riches.” This dedication and the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night* that it accompanies, were published in 1594, and shortly after the renewal of friendly and confidential relations between Southampton and Shakespeare. *Lucrece*, with its dedication to Southampton, was published at about the same time. The dedication to *Lucrece* shows us plainly that Shakespeare had recently received a gift of some value from Southampton. *Willobie his Avis*a, if not already circulating in MS. at this time, was at least in process of composition. That the adverse allusions in Chapman’s dedication are intended for Shakespeare then appears evident.

In several lines in the poem to which the dedication is prefixed Chapman breaks clean away from his theme to make similar personal allusions that are also aimed at Shakespeare :

Wealth fawns on fools virtues are meat for vices
Good gifts are often given to men past good
And noblesse stoops sometimes beneath his blood.

This is a palpable reference to Southampton’s recent

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munificence to our poet and to the intimate relations between the peer and the player. The reference to Shakespeare's "vices" to his being "past good" as well as "passion-driven" should be read in the light of *Willobie his Avis*, upon which poem these great "gentleman-scholars" were at this time at work. There are other allusions in this poem to Shakespeare and Southampton which shall be considered later.

Assuming for argument's sake that the personal references in the dedication were made to Shakespeare what inference may we draw? Is it not evident that Chapman has sought Southampton's favour, that he has submitted literary matter for his consideration, that Shakespeare's verdict on its merits has been asked and that he has (in Chapman's opinion) rendered an adverse judgment, or damned it with faint praise; in Chapman's words, that he has "queamishly commended it for a pretty toy"? In Chapman's phrase regarding "passion-driven men, reading but to curtail a tedious hour, and altogether hidebound with affection to great men's fancies" we have a reference to Shakespeare in his capacity of "reader" to the Earl of Southampton. I have already shown that Florio refers to Shakespeare in a similar manner and with more pointedly indicative intention.¹ It is evident then that Shakespeare curtailed many a tedious hour for this nobleman by reading not only his own poems or plays, but also those of other poets submitted to the young Earl. It is likely that the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night* were first submitted to Southampton in the hope of securing his patronage, and, having failed in his purpose, that Chapman altered the poem slightly, introducing the personal digressions noted, and

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

dedicated his "poor and strange trifle" to his friend Roydon.

In these hymns Chapman spurs his Pegasus to the topmost peaks of Parnassus, into the very bosom of the clouds which totally befog both his pen and his brain. These probably are the cloudiest and most incomprehensible jumble of verses composed with serious intention in the English tongue. It is to be doubted if any one has ever yet been able to grasp his conception, or if he knew himself clearly at what he was driving. Whatever the meaning of this poem may be, Chapman's intention in writing it was undoubtedly to win the favour of Southampton, rumours of whose liberal bounty to the unlettered play-actor, Shakespeare, were now abroad. The "rapture of delight in the deep search of knowledge"—that is, the pedantic classicism and obscure metaphors in which he indulges—is plainly intentional and is designed to differentiate distinctly the learned work of the scholar, one "shod by Mercury," "girt with Saturn's adamant sword," the "shield of Pallas," the "helm of Pluto" and "endowed with the eyes of Græa," from the "plain" and "pervial" productions of the simple, natural and classically unlearned, "unshorn Cato," whose *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were just now the talk of the town.

Failing to win either the patronage of the great or the favour of the public with his first effort, and concluding that its classical and metaphorical abstruseness, while not impressing, had possibly repelled his readers, it apparently occurs to Chapman that Shakespeare's success, both with his titled patron and the public, was due not to the poetic merit, but to what he conceives to be the sensuous and salacious nature of Shakespeare's recent poems. In an

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endeavour to suit himself to the supposed tastes of the patron he seeks, Chapman now descends from his moral altitude and tries his pen upon poems of a sensuous and erotic nature. Shrouding himself in the mantle of Ovid, he produced and published, in 1595, three poems—*Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy* and his *Amorous Zodiac*. A fourth poem, *The Contention of Phillis and Flora*, was published, also with these others; this latter poem is not by Chapman: it was republished in 1598 under the title, "*Phillis and Flora*, the sweet and civil contention of two amorous ladies translated out of the Latin by R. S." This "R. S." was evidently Chapman's friend Richard Stapleton, whose commendatory verses to Chapman were prefixed to the publication of *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* in 1595. In publishing his poem with those of Chapman's in 1595, and making no claims to the authorship, he did as Roydon had done a few years earlier in publishing his *Astrophel* with Spenser's poems. From a number of very palpable parallels between *Phillis and Flora* and *Willobie his Avis*, we may judge that Stapleton and others of Roydon's and Chapman's friends were privy to their anti-Shakespearean plotting. "R. S." is linked also with Roydon in 1593 in the fact that Roydon's *Elegie* for Sidney was published in that year with *The Phœnix Nest*, the title-page of which reads, "Set forth by R. S. of the Middle Temple." It is significant that the names of Greene and Nashe should also be linked with Roydon's by the fact that Nashe praises Roydon in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*. If we are justified by the tone of Chapman's dedication of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, and the collateral evidence already adduced, in assuming that those poems were originally written for Southampton's

eye and with the object of securing his patronage, it becomes still more probable that Chapman's poems of 1595 were produced with a similar end in view. These poems, however, are also eventually dedicated to Roydon as follows :

" To

THE TRULY LEARNED AND MY WORTHY FRIEND,
MASTER MATTHEW ROYDON.

" Such is the *wilful poverty of judgments*, sweet Matthew, wandering like passportless men in contempt of the divine discipline of Poesy that a man may well fear to frequent their walks. The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits whom learning hath made noble, and nobility sacred ; endeavouring that material oration, which you call schema ; varying in some rare fiction, from popular custom, even for the pure sakes of ornament and utility ; *this of Euripides* exceeding sweetly relishing with me ; *lentem coquens ne quicquam dentis addito*.

" *But that Poesy should be as perval as oratory, and plainness her special ornament, were the plain way to barbarism, and to make the ass run proud of his ears, to take away strength from lions, and give camels horns.*

" That energia or clearness of representation, required in absolute poems, is not the perspicuous delivery of a low invention ; *but high and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected phrase*. It serves not a skilful painter's turn to draw the figure of a face only to make known who it represents ; but he must *limn, give lustre, shadow, and heightening* ; which though ignorants will esteem spiced, and too curious, yet such as have the judicial perspective will see it hath motion, spirit, and life.

" There is no confection made to last, but it is admitted more cost and skill than presently-to-be-used simples ; and in my opinion that which being with a little endeavour

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searched, adds a kind of majesty to Poesy, is better than that which every *cobbler make sing in his patch*.

"Obscurity in affection of words and indigested conceits is pedantical and childish ; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttereth with fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I still labour to be shadowed. Rich minerals are digged out of the bowels of the earth, not found in the superficies and dust of it ; charms made of unlearned characters are not concecrate by the muses, which are divine artists, but by Euipe's daughters, that challenged them with mere nature, whose breasts I doubt not had been well worthy commendation, if their comparison had not turned them into pyes.

"Thus (not affecting glory for mine own slight labours, but desirous *others should be more worthily glorious*, nor professing sacred Poesy in any degree), I thought good to submit to your apt judgment acquainted long since with the true habit of Poesy ; and now, since your labouring wits endeavour heaven-high thoughts of nature, you have actual means to sound the philosophical conceits that my new pen so seriously courteth. I know that empty and dark spirits will complain of palpable night ; but those that beforehand have a radiant and light-bearing intellect, will say that they can pass through Corinna's garden without the help of a lantern.

Your own most worthily

And sincerely affected

GEORGE CHAPMAN."

The italics in this dedication are given by the present writer. While there is apparently no palpably indicative reference to our poet in this dedication, it shall be shown later that Shakespeare recognises a personal animus against himself on Chapman's part in several of the italicised passages, which he refers to and parodies in his answer to

Chapman, in or about this year, in the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

The subjects treated by Chapman in *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* and *The Amorous Zodiac* were quite foreign to him and his muse, and there can be little doubt that in choosing themes of this nature he was following the lead set by Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, but endeavouring to show in what a moral manner a poet of his learning and morality could handle subjects of a nature similar to those that had won an unlettered stage-poet such popularity as Shakespeare had recently achieved. Chapman was totally ignorant of the underlying personal intention regarding Southampton and his affairs had in mind by Shakespeare in the choice of his themes and the composition of his poems ; and evidently believed that they were produced with the object of pandering to the young nobleman's supposed libidinous proclivities. While the theme of *Venus and Adonis* is sensuous, and the story, as Shakespeare tells it, psychologically unnatural, being fitted by him to the subjective exigencies hitherto displayed, the poem gives us withal the "freshness of the early world"; an ideal Greek god and an ideal Greek goddess in an idealised landscape, the whole being transfused and glorified by

. . . the gleam
The light that never was on sea or land
The consecration and the poet's dream,

the sensuousness is sublimated,

All breathing human passion for above
That leaves a heart high sorrowful and cloyed,
A burning forehead and a parching tongue.

It is more purely Greek in spirit and execution than anything that Chapman, the ardent champion of classicism,

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ever produced. In *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* we have merely a naked woman and a "peeping Tom"; a lady of the Roman court disrobed for bathing in a trim garden where spouts an artificial fountain, and a man (Ovidius Naso) lurking behind bushes, seeing but unseen, and mentally analysing and dissecting the senses one by one. After awhile Ovid reveals himself without in the least shocking this disrobed female, and talks erotic metaphysics with her through about twenty verses of the poem. *The Amorous Zodiac* attempts to describe in detail the physical beauties of a naked woman. Both of these poems are filled with what Mr. Swinburne calls "the dry rot of scholastic sensuality." The very assumption of purity and the philosophical atmosphere with which Chapman endeavours to invest his sensuous subjects are so strained and incongruous that what in Ovid's hands had been gross, but natural, pagan sensuousness, under Chapman's touch becomes analytical obscenity.

The third poem published by Chapman in 1595, *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, is a ten-sonnet sequence. Its opening lines address poets who "sing love's sensual emperies" and lovers who praise the external attractions of the objects of their verses to the neglect of the beauty of their minds. While it addresses poets in the plural its intention is evidently singular. It points to a poet who, at that time, is being given "titles of primacy," that is, who is being greeted as foremost among poets; who has remodelled and beautified fragments from classical lore; who is applauded by the public, and rewarded by a noble patron; who is an actor or dramatist and who, at the same time, deprecates the necessity for the practice of his profession; and, finally, one who writes soothing dedications

in presenting poems on classical subjects to men of position and influence. To what other poet than Shakespeare could all these references apply in the year 1594? Shakespeare's poetical pre-eminence at that time is shown in Gervase Markham's reference to him as the "most victorious pen." *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were now at the height of their popularity; the first, second, third and fourth *books* of sonnets were circulating in MS. among his and Southampton's friends; Southampton had recently rewarded Shakespeare in some notable manner; and Chapman's friend, Roydon, had within a few months published *Willobie his Avis*.

It appears probable then that whatever earlier, or later, advances Chapman may have made towards Southampton's favour, that the poems of the years 1594 and 1595 were written with that object in view. Chapman at this time may have already produced some of his Homeric translations; he evidently has some idea of translating Homer at this period, as he refers to "the golden chain of Homer's high device" in the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*. The first of his translations were published in 1598 and dedicated to the Earl of Essex; it is possible that he had previously sought Southampton's favour with these, and that they had been circulated in MS., as was then customary, for some time before their publication.

For the better guidance of the reader I will give a few parallels between Chapman's *Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy* and the fifth *book* of Shakespeare's Sonnets, in which Shakespeare refers to the rival poet. Chapman's central idea in this poem is the praise of intellectual beauty—"the beauty of the mind" in contradistinction to poets who praise physical beauty—"the painted cabinet." It is

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evident that Chapman indicates a poet, or poets, who praise not a woman's but a man's beauty, and whom he accuses of being oblivious to the beauty of his mind. Shakespeare's first, second, third and fourth *books* of sonnets were now being circulated in MS. In these sonnets, Shakespeare continuously sings the praise of Southampton's beauty, not once referring to his mental attributes : a few extracts from the first *book* will make this plain :

SONNET I.

Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament
And only herald to the gaudy spring.

SONNET II.

Thy youth's proud livery, so gazed on now.

SONNET III.

Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee
Calls back the lovely April of her prime.

SONNET IV.

Unthrifty loveliness, why dost thou spend
Upon thyself thy beauty's legacy ?

SONNET V.

Those hours that with gentle work did frame
Thy lovely gaze where every eye doth dwell.

SONNET VI.

Be not self-will'd, for thou art much too fair
To be death's conquest and make worms thine heir.

SONNET XIV.

Or else of thee this I prognosticate :
Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date.

SONNET XVII.

If I could write the beauty of your eyes
 And in fresh numbers number all your graces,
 The age to come would say, "This poet lies ;
 Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces."

This strain runs all through the first sonnet sequence (which Chapman seems to have had in mind in his attack), and is also noticeable in both the third and fourth sequences, so that when Chapman writes—

Muses that sing Love's sensual empery,
 And lovers kindling your enraged fires
 At Cupid's bonfires burning in the eye,
 Blown with the empty breath of vain desires,
 You that prefer the painted cabinet
 Before the wealthy jewels it doth store yee,
 That all your joys in dying figures set,
 And stain the living substance of your glory,
 Abjure those joys, abhor their memory,
 And let my love the honour'd subject be
 Of love, and honour's complete history ;
Your eyes were never yet let in to see
The majesty and riches of the mind,
 But dwell in darkness ; for your God is blind—

it appears evident that he refers to Shakespeare. That Shakespeare recognises his indicative intention is shown in his answer in the following sonnet from the fifth *book* :

Those parts of thee that the world's eye doth view
 Want nothing that the thought of hearts can mend ;
 All *tongues, the voice of souls*, give thee that due,
 Uttering bare truth, even so as foes commend.
 Thy outward thus with outward praise is crown'd ;
 But those same tongues, that give thee so thine own,
 In other accents do this praise confound
By seeing farther than the eye hath shown
They look into the beauty of thy mind.

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This sonnet, besides being a palpable answer to that quoted from Chapman's *Coronet*, also satirically indicates that poet in the expression

All tongues the voice of souls.

A careful search of the works of other poets of that period has failed to show a similar use of the idea—so often voiced by Chapman—which leads me to connect Shakespeare's indication with that poet. It is very apparent that Shakespeare uses this expression with indicative and satirical intention. In *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* Chapman writes :

Alas ! why lent not heaven *the soul a tongue*
Nor language nor peculiar dialect.

And again :

Or turn me into swoond, possess me whole
Soul to my life and essence *to my soul*.

And still again :

Her body doth present those fields of peace
Where *souls* are feasted with the *soul* of ease.

And in contradistinction to his own soulful soul he writes of the poets he is attacking as follows :

. . . hell descending gain
The *soul* of fools that all their *soul* confounds
The art of peasants and our noble's stain,
The bane of virtue and the bliss of sin
Which none but fools and peasants glory in.

In *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, he uses similar "soulful" expressions ; for instance :

But my love is the cordial of *souls*
Teaching by passion what perfection is,
Spirit to flesh and *soul to spirit* giving,
Love flows not from my liver but her living.

And again :

Virtue is but the merit and reward
Of her removed and soul infused regard.

The reference to "peasants" working for "hell descending gain" who are also the "stain" of "nobles" is a repetition of the idea in the lines already quoted :

Wealth fawns on fools virtues are meat for vices
Good gifts are often given to men past good
And noblesse sometime stoops beneath his blood.

Both these passages suggest a reference to the friendship between the peer and the poet and seem to reflect on Chapman's part a knowledge of Southampton's bounty to Shakespeare. Chapman makes other allusions to souls that seem to be anti-Shakespearean in their intention.

. . . not the weak disjoint
Of female humours ; nor the Protean rages
Of pied-faced fashion, that doth shrink and swell,
Working poor men like waxen images,
And makes them apish strangers where they dwell,
Can alter her ; titles of primacy,
Courtship of antic gestures, brainless jests,
Blood without soul, of false nobility,
Nor any folly which the world infests, etc.

The expression "titles of primacy" takes on colour as a reference to Shakespeare when we remember that this poem of Chapman's was published in 1595, as was also the poem of Gervase Markham in which he refers to Shakespeare as the "most victorious pen."

"Blood without soul, of false nobility" seems to be one of those slurs at Shakespeare's social condition that induced him in the following year to apply to the College of Heralds for the *confirmation* of an alleged grant of Arms

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formerly made to his family. It is extremely probable that Shakespeare claimed the right to Arms and made use of the eagle and spear crest before the date of its confirmation. It is usually granted that Spenser's reference in 1595—

And there though last not least is Aetion
A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found
Whose muse full of high thoughts invention
Doth like himself heroically sound—

was intended for Shakespeare ; the word " Aetion," from the Greek " Aetós," an eagle, indicating his well-known crest. The fact of Chapman having indicated Shakespeare in the expression " Blood without soul " gives added point to Shakespeare's reference to Chapman :

All tongues the voice of souls.

In the dedication to the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, and in the same passage to which Professor Minto suggested that Shakespeare referred in the 86th sonnet, Chapman makes another characteristic reference to soul :

" Now what a supererogation in wit this is, to think Skill so mightily pierced with their loves, that she should prostitutely show them her secrets when she will scarcely be looked upon by others but with invocation, fasting and watching. Yea, not without having *drops of their souls*," etc.

I think it will be granted that the parallels noted and the frequent use of the " soul " idea in these extracts from Chapman warrant the assumption that Shakespeare's indications in the 69th sonnet refer to that poet. This whole poem, *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, if critically read will be recognised as a more or less veiled attack

upon Shakespeare. The parallels to be found in the next verse are fairly clear ; Chapman writes :

But dwell in darkness, for your God is blind,
Humour pours down such torrents on his eyes ;
Which, as from mountains, fall on his base kind,
And eat your entrails out with ecstasies.
Colour, whose hands for faintness are not felt,
Can bind your waxen thoughts in adamant ;
And with her *painted fires* your heart doth melt,
Which beat your soul in pieces with a pant.
But my love is the cordial of souls,
Teaching by passion what perfection is,
In whose fix'd beauties shine the sacred scrolls,
And long-lost records of your human bliss,
Spirit to flesh, and soul to spirit giving,
Love, flows not from my liver, but her living.

Let us compare the italicised lines in this verse with the following sonnet from the fifth or Rival Poet *book of sonnets* :

I never saw that you did painting need,
And therefore to your fair no painting set ;
I found, or thought I found, you did exceed
The barren tender of a poet's debt :
And therefore have I slept in your report,
That you yourself, being extant, well might show
How far a modern quill doth come too short,
Speaking of worth, what worth in you doth grow.
This silence for my sin you did impute,
Which shall be most my glory, being dumb ;
For I impair not beauty, being mute,
When others would give life and bring a tomb.
There lives more life in one of your fair eyes
Than both your poets can in praise devise.

Shakespeare, in ridiculing Chapman in *Love's Labour's Lost*, takes cognizance of the same expressions in the sonnet of Chapman's quoted above, that he also notices in the 83rd sonnet. In the last two verses of *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, Chapman's wrath runs amuck,

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and he grows savagely abusive and points plainly to Shakespeare :

For words want art, and art wants words to praise her ;
 Yet shall my active and industrious pen
 Wind his sharp forehead through those parts that raise her,
 And register her worth past rarest women.
 Herself shall be my Muse ; that well will know
 Her proper inspirations ; and assuage—
 With her dear love—the wrongs my fortunes show,
 Which to my youth bind heartless grief in age.
 Herself shall be my comfort and my riches,
 And all my thoughts I will on her convert ;
Honour and error which the world bewitches,
Shall still crown fools, and tread upon desert,
 And never shall my friendless verse envy
Muses that Fame's loose feathers beautify.

Let us consider the subjective indications in this verse. Chapman says, his Mistress Philosophy shall be his comfort and his riches, the antithesis of "Honour and error," which "still crown fools"—Shakespeare—and "tread upon desert"—Chapman. "Honour" evidently means Southampton, "error" the applauding public which welcomes and praises a poem like *Venus and Adonis* to the neglect of a gem like *The Shadow of Night*. It is evident that Chapman would not write in this strain, which practically duplicates the spirit of the dedications, unless he had sought patronage and had been repulsed. He ends his verses with the lines :

And never shall my friendless verse envy
 Muses that Fame's loose feathers beautify.

What does Chapman mean by "Fame's loose feathers" ? Plainly such pieces of classical lore as the legend of *Venus and Adonis*, and the story of *Lucrece*, which Shakespeare uses as he finds them in stray translations ; not being able, as was Chapman, with his superior classical knowledge,

to pluck the whole birds of Grecian mythology and Roman history. In this line Chapman not only indicates our poet but sneers at his lack of learning.

In the next verse Chapman, repeating the last line of the preceding verse—as he does all through the sequence—addresses

Muses that Fame's loose feathers beautify
And such as scorn to tread the theatre,
As ignorant,

and tells them

. . . the seed of memory
Have most inspired, and shown their glories there
To noblest wits, and men of highest doom,
That for the kingly laurel bent affair
The theatres of Athens and of Rome,
Have been the crowns and not the base impair.

The punctuation in this passage is wrong ; there should be some stop after " affair." The sense I make of this passage is as follows : Muses who beautify the loose feathers of Fame and who scorn, as ignorant, the dramatic profession, know ye, the seed of memory have most inspired, and shown their glories there to noblest wits and men of highest doom, who, for the kingly laurel, strove in endeavour. For such men the theatres of Athens and of Rome have been the crowns and not the base impair.

He then continues :

Far, then, be this foul cloudy-brow'd contempt
From like-plumed birds.

By " like-plumed birds " Chapman here very evidently means the class of men of whom he has just been writing, *i.e.* actors, or writers for the stage.

. . . and let your sacred rhymes
From honour's court their servile feet exempt,
That live by soothing moods, and serving times.

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Here is proof that he is not addressing the sonneteers of the day ; he would not write of the amorous sonnet as a " sacred rhyme." By this expression he means poems or rhymes on sacred, *i.e.* classical, subjects, and, I believe, intends to indicate *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. " From honour's court " means the courtship of men of honour, *i.e.* title and position.

. . . their servile feet exempt
That live by soothing moods, and serving times,

refers to Shakespeare's dedications of his poems to Southampton.

The last line of this sonnet gives the same indication as the first line of the whole sequence :

Muses that sing Love's sensual emperies.

To no poet other than Shakespeare could all the references in these verses possibly apply in the year 1595.

The fifth *book* of sonnets, which deals with the rival poet, was produced in the year 1595, probably towards the end of the year, but certainly not later than the spring of the year 1596. In these sonnets Shakespeare, in referring to Chapman, makes references to his dedications and poems produced in the years 1594 and 1595. It is not likely that a long interval would elapse between Chapman's antagonistic and satirical references to Shakespeare and his rejoinders.

Southampton left England following the expedition to Cadiz early in June 1596 and did not return until the autumn of that year. By this latter period both Southampton and Shakespeare would have lost interest in Chapman's poems published in 1594 and 1595.

Though the fifth *book* of sonnets gives us plain evidence that Shakespeare imagined himself to have been threatened

by a rival in Southampton's favour, the fears he expresses do not seem to be very deeply grounded. Both the praise he gives his rival and his deprecation of his own poetical merits seem to be largely for poetical effect and not to be taken very seriously.

This book is a complete twenty-sonnet sequence. Two groups, each containing six sonnets, were in their true order, and all but two of the remaining sonnets of the twenty, though incorrectly, were contiguously numbered in Thorpe's arrangement. As in the case of the *books* hitherto given, I shall allow the sequential order I restore to this group to justify itself.

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BOOK V. Against that time, if ever that time come,
 Sonnet i. When I shall see thee frown on my defects,
 When as thy love hath cast his utmost sum,
 Call'd to that audit by advised respects ;
 Against that time when thou shalt strangely pass,
 And scarcely greet me with that sun, thine eye,
 (Thorpe xlix.) When love, converted from the thing it was,
 Shall reasons find of settled gravity ;
 Against that time do I ensconce me here
 Within the knowledge of mine own desert,
 And this my hand against myself uprear,
 To guard the lawful reasons on thy part :
 To leave poor me thou hast the strength of laws,
 Since why to love I can allege no cause.

BOOK V. When thou shalt be disposed to set me light,
 Sonnet ii. And place my merit in the eye of scorn,
 Upon thy side against myself I'll fight,
 And prove thee virtuous, though thou art forsworn.
 With mine own weakness being best acquainted,
 Upon thy part I can set down a story
 (Thorpe lxxxviii.) Of faults conceal'd, wherein I am attainted ;
 That thou in losing me shalt win much glory :
 And I by this will be a gainer too ;
 For bending all my loving thoughts on thee,
 The injuries that to myself I do,
 Doing thee vantage, double-vantage me.
 Such is my love, to thee I so belong,
 That for thy right myself will bear all wrong.

BOOK V. Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,

Sonnet iii.

And I will comment upon that offence :

Speak of my lameness, and I straight will halt,

Against thy reasons making no defence.

Thou canst not, love, disgrace me half so ill,

To set a form upon desired change,

As I'll myself disgrace ; knowing thy will,

I will acquaintance strangle and look strange ;

Be absent from thy walks ; and in my tongue

Thy sweet beloved name no more shall dwell,

Lest I, too much profane, should do it wrong,

And haply of our old acquaintance tell.

For thee, against myself I'll vow debate,

For I must ne'er love him whom thou dost hate.

(Thorpe
lxxxix.)

BOOK V. Then hate me when thou wilt ; if ever, now ;

Sonnet iv.

Now, while the world is bent my deeds to cross,

Join with the spite of fortune, make me bow,

And do not drop in for an after-loss :

Ah, do not, when my heart hath 'scaped this sorrow,

Come in the rearward of a conquer'd woe ;

Give not a windy night a rainy morrow,

To linger out a purposed overthrow.

If thou wilt leave me, do not leave me last,

When other petty griefs have done their spite,

But in the onset come : so shall I taste

At first the very worst of fortune's might ;

And other strains of woe, which now seem woe,

Compared with loss of thee will not seem so.

(Thorpe
xc.)

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Book V. Some glory in their birth, some in their skill,
Sonnet v. Some in their wealth, some in their body's force ;
Some in their garments, though new-fangled ill ;
Some in their hawks and hounds, some in their horse ;
And every humour hath his adjunct pleasure,
Wherein it finds a joy above the rest :
(Thorpe But these particulars are not my measure ;
xcii.) All these I better in one general best.
Thy love is better than high birth to me,
Richer than wealth, prouder than garments' cost,
Of more delight than hawks or horses be ;
And having thee, of all men's pride I boast :
Wretched in this alone, that thou mayst take
All this away and me most wretched make.

Book V. But do thy worst to steal thyself away,
Sonnet vi. For term of life thou art assured mine ;
And life no longer than thy love will stay,
For it depends upon that love of thine.
Then need I not to fear the worst of wrongs,
When in the least of them my life hath end.
(Thorpe I see a better state to me belongs
xcii.) Than that which on thy humour doth depend :
Thou canst not vex me with inconstant mind,
Since that my life on thy revolt doth lie.
O, what a happy title do I find,
Happy to have thy love, happy to die !
But what's so blessed-fair that fears no blot ?
Thou mayst be false, and yet I know it not.

Book V. So shall I live, supposing thou art true,
 Sonnet vii. Like a deceived husband ; so love's face
 May still seem love to me, though alter'd new ;
 Thy looks with me, thy heart in other place :
 For there can live no hatred in thine eye,
 Therefore in that I cannot know thy change.
 (Thorpe In many's looks the false heart's history
 xciii.) Is writ in moods and frowns and wrinkles strange,
 But heaven in thy creation did decree
 That in thy face sweet love should ever dwell ;
 Whate'er thy thoughts or thy heart's workings be,
 Thy looks should nothing thence but sweetness tell.
 How like Eve's apple doth thy beauty grow,
 If thy sweet virtue answer not thy show.

Book V. Those parts of thee that the world's eye doth view
 Sonnet Want nothing that the thought of hearts can mend ;
 viii. All tongues, the voice of souls, give thee that due,
 Uttering bare truth, even so as foes commend.
 Thy outward thus with outward praise is crown'd ;
 But those same tongues, that give thee so thine own,
 (Thorpe In other accents do this praise confound
 lxix.) By seeing farther than the eye hath shown.
 They look into the beauty of thy mind,
 And that, in guess, they measure by thy deeds ;
 Then, churls, their thoughts, although their eyes were
 kind,
 To thy fair flower add the rank smell of weeds :
 But why thy odour matcheth not thy show,
 The soil is this, that thou dost common grow.

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BOOK V. So oft have I invoked thee for my Muse
 Sonnet ix. And found such fair assistance in my verse
 As every alien pen hath got my use
 And under thee their poesy disperse.
 Thine eyes, that taught the dumb on high to sing
 And heavy ignorance aloft to fly,
 (Thorpe Have added feathers to the learned's wing
 lxxviii.) And given grace a double majesty.
 Yet be most proud of that which I compile,
 Whose influence is thine and born of thee :
 In others' works thou dost but mend the style,
 And arts with thy sweet graces graced be ;
 But thou art all my art, and dost advance
 As high as learning my rude ignorance.

BOOK V. How can my Muse want subject to invent,
 Sonnet x. While thou dost breathe, that pour'st into my verse
 Thine own sweet argument, too excellent
 For every vulgar paper to rehearse ?
 O, give thyself the thanks, if aught in me
 Worthy perusal stand against thy sight ;
 (Thorpe For who's so dumb that cannot write to thee,
 xxxviii.) When thou thyself dost give invention light ?
 Be thou the tenth Muse, ten times more in worth
 Than those old nine which rhymers invoke ;
 And he that calls on thee, let him bring forth
 Eternal numbers to outlive long date.
 If my slight Muse do please these curious days,
 The pain be mine, but thine shall be the praise.

Book V. Whilst I alone did call upon thy aid,

Sonnet xi.

My verse alone had all thy gentle grace ;
But now my gracious numbers are decay'd,
And my sick Muse doth give another place.
I grant, sweet love, thy lovely argument
Deserves the travail of a worthier pen ;

(Thorpe
lxxix.)

Yet what of thee thy poet doth invent
He robs thee of, and pays it thee again.
He lends thee virtue, and he stole that word
For thy behaviour ; beauty doth he give,
And found it in thy cheek : he can afford
No praise to thee but what in thee doth live.

Then thank him not for that which he doth say,
Since what he owes thee thou thyself dost pay.

Book V. O, how I faint when I of you do write,

Sonnet xii.

Knowing a better spirit doth use your name,
And in the praise thereof spends all his might,
To make me tongue-tied, speaking of your fame !
But since your worth, wide as the ocean is,
The humble as the proudest sail doth bear,

(Thorpe
lxxx.)

My saucy bark, inferior far to his,
On your broad main doth wilfully appear.
Your shallowest help will hold me up afloat,
Whilst he upon your soundless deep doth ride ;
Or, being wreck'd, I am a worthless boat,
He of tall building and of goodly pride :

Then if he thrive and I be cast away,
The worst was this ; my love was my decay.

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BOOK V.
Sonnet
xiii.

I grant thou wert not married to my Muse,
And therefore mayst without attaint o'erlook
The dedicated words which writers use
Of their fair subject, blessing every book.
Thou art as fair in knowledge as in hue,
Finding thy worth a limit past my praise ;
And therefore art enforced to seek anew
Some fresher stamp of the time-bettering days,
And do so, love ; yet when they have devised
What strained touches rhetoric can lend,
Thou truly fair wert truly sympathised
In true plain words by thy true-telling friend ;
And their gross painting might be better used
Where cheeks need blood ; in thee it is abused.

(Thorpe
lxxxii.)

BOOK V.
Sonnet
xiv.

I never saw that you did painting need,
And therefore to your fair no painting set ;
I found, or thought I found, you did exceed
The barren tender of a poet's debt :
And therefore have I slept in your report,
That you yourself, being extant, well might show
How far a modern quill doth come too short,
Speaking of worth, what worth in you doth grow.
This silence for my sin you did impute,
Which shall be most my glory, being dumb ;
For I impair not beauty being mute,
When others would give life and bring a tomb.
There lives more life in one of your fair eyes
Than both your poets can in praise devise.

(Thorpe
lxxxiii.)

Book V. Who is it that says most ? which can say more

Sonnet xv. Than this rich praise, that you alone are you ?

In whose confine immured is the store

Which should example where your equal grew.

Lean penury within that pen doth dwell

That to his subject lends not some small glory ;

(Thorpe
lxxxiv.) But he that writes of you, if he can tell

That you are you, so dignifies his story.

Let him but copy what in you is writ,

Not making worse what nature made so clear,

And such a counterpart shall fame his wit,

Making his style admired every where.

You to your beauteous blessings add a curse,

Being fond on praise, which makes your praises worse.

Book V. My tongue-tied Muse in manners holds her still,

Sonnet
xvi. While comments of your praise, richly compiled,

Reserve their character with golden quill,

And precious phrase by all the Muses filed.

I think good thoughts, whilst others write good words,

And, like unletter'd clerk, still cry " Amen "

(Thorpe
lxxxv.) To every hymn that able spirit affords,

In polish'd form of well refined pen.

(Thorpe
lxxxv.) Hearing you praised, I say "'Tis so, 'tis true,"

And to the most of praise add something more ;

But that is in my thought, whose love to you,

Though words come hindmost, holds his rank before.

Then others for the breath of words respect,

Me for my dumb thoughts, speaking in effect.

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BOOK V. Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,
 Sonnet Bound for the prize of all too precious you,
 xvii. That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,
 Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew?
 Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write
 Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead?

(Thorpe No, neither he, nor his compeers by night
 lxxxvi.) Giving him aid, my verse astonished.
 He, nor that affable familiar ghost
 Which nightly gulls him with intelligence,
 As victors, of my silence cannot boast;
 I was not sick of any fear from thence:
 But when your countenance fill'd up his line,
 Then lack'd I matter; that enfeebled mine.

BOOK V. Farewell! thou art too dear for my possessing,
 Sonnet And like enough thou know'st thy estimate:
 xviii. The charter of thy worth gives thee releasing;
 My bonds in thee are all determinate.
 For how do I hold thee but by thy granting?
 And for that riches where is my deserving?
 (Thorpe The cause of this fair gift in me is wanting,
 lxxxvii.) And so my patent back again is swerving.
 Thyself thou gavest, thy own worth then not knowing,
 Or me, to whom thou gavest it, else mistaking;
 So thy great gift, upon misprision growing,
 Comes home again, on better judgement making.
 Thus have I had thee, as a dream doth flatter,
 In sleep a king, but waking no such matter.

BOOK V. If thou survive my well-contented day,
 Sonnet xix. When that churl Death my bones with dust shall cover,
 And shalt by fortune once more re-survey
 These poor rude lines of thy deceased lover,
 Compare them with the bettering of the time,
 And though they be outstripp'd by every pen,
 (Thorpe xxxii.) Reserve them for my love, not for their rhyme,
 Exceeded by the height of happier men.
 O, then vouchsafe me but this loving thought :
 " Had my friend's Muse grown with this growing age,
 A dearer birth than this his love had brought,
 To march in ranks of better equipage :
 But since he died, and poets better prove,
 Theirs for their style I'll read, his for his love."

BOOK V. Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
 Sonnet xx. Or you survive when I in earth am rotten ;
 From hence your memory death cannot take,
 Although in me each part will be forgotten.
 Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
 Though I, once gone, to all the world must die :
 (Thorpe lxxxi.) The earth can yield me but a common grave,
 When you entombed in men's eyes shall lie.
 Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
 Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read ;
 And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
 When all the breathers of this world are dead ;
 You still shall live—such virtue hath my pen—
 Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of
 men.

CHAPTER XI

LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST AND THE SCHOOL OF NIGHT. 1594-5

THE publication of *Willobie his Avis* and of Chapman's dedications to Roydon of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, and *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* in 1594 and 1595, was answered by Shakespeare not only by the fifth *book* of sonnets, but also by a very full revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* in, or about, the latter year. In this revision Shakespeare parodies Chapman's dedication, pokes fun at his erotic poems, and caricatures Chapman himself as Holofernes, and Roydon as the curate, Nathaniel. It is not likely that the character of Armado was materially changed at this time, but a few strokes were added to it in 1597-8, when it was revised for Court presentation and publication.

External evidence regarding the date of composition of *Love's Labour's Lost* is limited. In 1598, Meres mentions this play, with others, in his *Palladis Tamia*. It is also alluded to by Robert Tofte in the same year in the following lines :

Love's Labour Lost I once did see, a Play
Y-cleped so.

It has been noticed that the word "once" seems to indicate that in 1598 the play was not a recent production. It is again referred to in 1604 in a letter from Sir Walter Cope

to Lord Cranborne, where it is mentioned as "an old play." It was published in quarto form in the year 1598, no previous entry being made in the Stationers' Register. This sums up all the external evidence at present extant in regard to the date of its composition.

Notwithstanding the comparatively late date of the earliest records of this play and of its publication, there is unusual unanimity among critics in placing it with the earliest of Shakespeare's original dramas, the date generally assigned for its composition being 1591-2. It differs from all of Shakespeare's other acknowledged plays in the fact that no acceptable basis for its plot and action has yet been suggested.

In an inceptive argument regarding the theories herein being developed, published in 1902,¹ I argued for a date of composition for *Love's Labour's Lost* in, or later than, the year 1595, basing my argument upon what then appeared—and still appears to me to be—the facts that Shakespeare in this play parodies Chapman's dedications of 1594 and 1595; satirises the poems for which those dedications were written, and caricatures Chapman himself in the person of Holofernes. The light since shed on my theories by the identification of Roydon as the author of *Willobie his Avisa*, has enabled me to place the production of the first, second and third *books* of sonnets anterior to the date of the publication of that poem, and, consequently, to realise a more definite idea of the date of the inception of the acquaintance between Southampton and Shakespeare. In this new light I also began to apprehend, in the plays of the sonnet period, reflections of the same personal influences that brought about the composition of the

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*. John Lane. London. 1902.

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sonnets. A careful study of *Love's Labour's Lost* from this new viewpoint, during the years that have elapsed, has convinced me of the soundness of the consensus of judgment of the textual critics in placing its original composition in 1591-2, and has also enabled me to supply, for the first time, a basis for its original plot and action, and to reinforce the evidence for 1591-2, as the date of composition, by the suggestions made in a previous chapter regarding the earliest form of the play as a reflection of the incidents of the entertainments arranged for the Queen upon the occasion of the progress to Cowdray, in the autumn of 1591. Being now convinced of an earlier date than 1595 for the original composition of this play, yet being equally sure that Chapman's dedications and poems of 1594 and 1595 are satirised, and Chapman caricatured as Holofernes, I was impelled to the conclusion that those portions of the play in which such satire and caricature are to be found denote a period of revision necessarily subsequent to the date of the publication of those poems. The title-page of the Quarto of 1598 reads as follows :

“ A pleasant conceited Comedie called *Loves Labours Lost* as it was presented before her Highness this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespeare.”

Here we have what appears to be authentic proof that the play was corrected, and also enlarged some time before the Christmas of 1598. It has been surmised by some critics that the words “ newly corrected and augmented ” indicate, not only the revision and enlargement of the play, but also the fact of its previous publication. While this is possible, I am inclined to the opinion that in this

instance the words refer merely to revision, but I venture to predict that if any previous publication of this play, antedating the year 1595, should ever come to light, a comparison will show that while revision will be found to a greater or less degree all through the play, as it appears in the Quarto of 1598, the bulk of the "augmentation" indicated by the title-page will be found in the additions of Scene ii. Act iv. and Scene i. Act v. in their entirety, and also of the lines numbered from 530 to 720 in Act v. Scene ii. I further predict that most of the revision noticeable in the remainder of the play will be found in the alteration of old passages, or the introduction of new passages, with the intention of linking the original play in spirit or action with the scenes I have suggested as the "augmentation."

The dicta of those critics who affirm that only the Folio of 1623 gives us authorised publication of the plays, and their inverse assumption that the issue of the Quartos antedating 1623 was due entirely to the predatory activities of the printers and publishers under whose auspices they were put forth, seem now through iteration to have assumed a dogmatic authority entirely unwarranted by the premises. These assumptions are based almost entirely upon the evidence of the following passage from the address "To the great Variety of Readers" prefixed to the First Folio and signed by Shakespeare's partners, Heming and Condell:

"It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had lived to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected and publish'd them,

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as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them : even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it."

This address of Heming and Condell was written with the evident desire of exploiting the sale of the Folio. It has been noticed, however, that they qualify their statement by the word "diverse,"¹ not necessarily including all of the Quartos in their condemnation. It is also acknowledged by the majority of the most authoritative text critics that many of the plays in the Folio are undoubtedly based upon the Quartos. While evidence may be adduced to warrant the charge of piracy in regard to a few of the Quartos, still stronger evidence may be advanced in favour of the legality of the publication of the larger number of them.

The reader who follows to the end my argument regarding Shakespeare's relations with Southampton, Chapman, Roydon, Florio and Ben Jonson will be convinced of the reality of his intimacy and friendship with that nobleman and the consequent hostility of his literary and dramatic rivals. Both their attacks and his defence and counter-attacks shall be satisfactorily demonstrated. It shall be shown that these attacks upon Shakespeare were not confined to the circulation of lampoons in MS. or the covert slings in acted plays, but that the poems, plays and dedica-

¹ The question of the authorised publication of the Quartos is ably treated by Mr. A. W. Pollard in his *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos*. 1909.

tions in which Shakespeare is indicated and attacked were also published during the heat of the contest. That Shakespeare usually gave his antagonists a Roland for their Oliver will also be shown in certain of his plays. Does it then seem likely that he would rest content with the limited publicity of his defence made possible by the mere production of these plays on the public boards, and leave entirely to his opponents the advantage of publication? May we not reasonably infer that he would also meet them in this field?

The plays in which I find the most palpable evidence of satire directed against these men are *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Henry IV. (Parts I. and II.)* and *Troilus and Cressida*.

All of these plays were issued in quarto form during the continuance of the literary warfare and all five of the Quartos have long been recognised by the most conservative critics as having, in all cases, at least an equal, and in some a higher critical, value than the Folio versions of the plays. Assuming for the present, and for the sake of argument, the fact of satire on the part of Shakespeare against his opponents in the plays mentioned, does it not appear evident that these Quartos were issued, not only with Shakespeare's cognizance and sanction, but at his actual instigation?

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Love's Labour's Lost* we have plain evidence of extensive revision. Those portions of the plays in which revision is most noticeable are also the parts in which satire is most apparent. It is not unlikely then that much of the revision in these plays was made with the intention of publication: in the instance of the second Quarto of

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Troilus and Cressida, which contains the significant address to the reader, there seems to be no other reasonable conclusion. This address states that the play as offered for sale was "never staled with the stage," a statement we may fully credit, as it is palpably unactable in its published form.

In returning to a consideration of *Love's Labour's Lost* I would ask the reader before following the argument further to examine this play and to note the following facts. That Holofernes and Nathaniel are introduced into the play for the first time in Act iv. Scene ii., and that the whole of this latter scene is devoted to them and their learning, and in a palpably satirical vein—Jaquenetta and Costard being introduced merely incidentally and to give the scene some possible link with what has gone before. That the dialogue and action of this scene has no dramatic connection with, nor bearing upon, any of the preceding acts, with the exception of the forced connection brought about by the introduction of Costard and Jaquenetta. That the dialogue and action has no dramatic connection with any of the succeeding portions of the play except Act v. Scene i., and lines 530 to 720 in Act v. Scene ii., which I regard as portions of the "augmentation" at a period of revision. If the play be read, eliminating the scenes and passages suggested as the augmentation, a unity of action appears entirely lacking in the revised play. A careful consideration of the play from this point of view and in the correlative light that the sonnet story throws upon the personal phases of Shakespeare's dramatic work at this period has led me to the belief that we have its original plot and action in what remains of the play with the acts and lines I mention eliminated. The text, how-

ever, is materially altered, not only by the necessity for linking the old play with the new acts and characters introduced, but also by the textual improvements in revision natural to Shakespeare's growing literary power and judgment. The carelessness of the printers of the Quarto has, however, supplied us with a means of judging the development of his art in the years that have elapsed between the composition and revision of the play. If lines 296 to 317, Act IV. Scene iii., be compared with lines 318 to 354 in the same scene, it will be seen that the longer passage is plainly an expanded and glorified paraphrase of the shorter one. I will quote them in parallel columns.

ACT IV. SCENE III.

LINES 296 TO 317.

And where that you have vowed to
study, lords,
In that each of you have foresworn
his book,
Can you still dream and pore and
thereon look ?
For when would you, my lord, or
you, or you,
Have found the ground of study's
excellence
Without the beauty of a woman's
face ?
From women's eyes this doctrine I
derive ;
They are the ground, the books,
the acadames
From whence doth spring the true
Promethean fire.
Why, universal plodding prisons up
The nimble spirits in the arteries,
As motion and long-during action
tires
The sinewy vigour of the traveller.
Now, for not looking on a woman's
face,

ACT IV. SCENE III.

LINES 318 TO 354.

O, we have made a vow to study,
lords,
And in that vow we have foresworn
our books.
For when would you, my liege, or
you or you,
In leaden contemplation have found
out
Such fiery numbers as the prompt-
ing eyes
Of beauty's tutors have enrich'd
you with ?
Other slow arts entirely keep the
brain ;
And therefore, finding barren
practisers,
Scarce show a harvest of their
heavy toil :
But love, first learned in a lady's
eyes,
Lives not alone immured in the
brain ;
But, with the motion of all elements,
Courses as swift as thought in
every power,

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<p>You have in that foresworn the use of eyes And study too, the causer of your vow ; For where is any author in the world Teaches such beauty as a woman's eye ? Learning is but an adjunct to ourselves, And where we are our learning likewise is, Then when ourselves we see in ladies' eyes, Do we not likewise see our learning there ?</p>	<p>And gives to every power a double power, Above their functions and their offices. It adds a precious seeing to the eye ; A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind ; A lover's ear will hear the lowest sound, When the suspicious head of theft is stopp'd : Love's feeling is more soft and sensible Than are the tender horns of cockled snails ; Love's tongue proves dainty Bac- chus gross in taste : For valour is not Love a Hercules, Still climbing trees in the Hes- perides ? Subtle as Sphinx ; as sweet and musical As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair ; And when Love speaks, the voice of all the gods Make heaven drowsy with the harmony. Never durst poet touch a pen to write Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs ; O, then his lines would ravage savage ears, And plant in tyrants mild humility. From women's eyes this doctrine I derive : They sparkle still the right Prome- thean fire ; They are the books, the arts, the academes, That show contain and nourish all the world : Else none at all in aught proves excellent.</p>
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There is something more interesting than the evidence of the development of Shakespeare's literary power revealed in a critical comparison of these two passages when the incidents of his life, with their influence upon his heart and mind, at the two periods of composition are considered. The date usually assigned by the critics for the original composition of the play places it at about the same period as that which I have advanced for the composition of the first *book* of sonnets, and of *Venus and Adonis*; both of which poems were written with the object of forwarding the designs of Southampton's friends in their endeavours to bring about his marriage with Elizabeth Vere. It also appears evident that the Cowdray progress was arranged with this end in view. *Love's Labour's Lost* in its first form being a reflection of the incidents of this progress, and written shortly afterwards, Shakespeare has still in mind the desire of Southampton's friends regarding his marriage, and in the lines 296 to 317, Act IV. Scene iii., as well as in other passages of the play, evidently argues the same subject and with the same object that he advocates in the first *book* of sonnets, and suggests in *Venus and Adonis* at the same period. In the Sonnets and *Venus and Adonis*, as well as in such passages as that mentioned from *Love's Labour's Lost*, which belongs to the play in its earliest form, while Shakespeare's intention is evident, it is apparent that only his mind is engaged. Read the first *book* of sonnets and the passage from *Love's Labour's Lost* under discussion, what an absolute lack of real feeling is shown: it is evident that our poet writes practically to order; that he has been instigated to the attempt by Southampton's friends or relatives; but, turn now to the enlarged revision of this passage as it was rewritten in, or after, 1595, and

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what a difference appears ! Here we have a perfect rhapsody of love ; in the earlier passage we have merely theoretical platitudinising ; in the latter, the spiritualised analysis of actual experience penned at the time when Shakespeare's infatuation for the " dark lady " had reached its zenith. Out of all his poems and plays only in a few passages in *Romeo and Juliet* (written some months earlier and under the spell of the same influence) are we again conscious of the same sense of recent personal experience ; the pulsating reality of love at high tide that suffuses and overflows from these lines. In *Romeo and Juliet* we have, however, a slightly earlier stage, lucid or detailed analysis and introspection were impossible at that tumultuous stage. At the period of the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* the analytical stage is approaching ; in the passage quoted we have analysis, it is true, but what analysis ! His mind sits in judgment on his passion, but regards only the pleading of his heart ; the *advocatus diaboli*—his conscience—is silenced ; his love is yet

too young to know what conscience is.

Arguing from the assumption that the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* (including the passage under consideration and introducing the same satire against Chapman and Roydon) was made in, or later than, 1595 (the date of the publication of *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* and the *Amorous Zodiac*, the poems indicated in the satire), we may also date the composition of at least three or four of the sonnets in the series written to the " dark lady " at the same period, as they clearly reflect Shakespeare's knowledge of Chapman's poems.

Ovid's Banquet of Sense is, as its title implies, an analysis

of the senses in relation to sexuality : to this poem Chapman prefixes the following argument :

" Ovid, newly enamoured of Julia, daughter to Octavius Augustus Cæsar, after by him called Corinna, secretly conveyed himself into a garden of the Emperor's Court, in an arbour whereof Corinna was bathing, playing upon her lute and singing ; which
Auditus. Ovid overhearing was exceedingly pleased with the sweetness of her voice, and to himself uttered the comfort he conceived in his sense of Hearing.

Then the odours she used in her bath breathing a rich
Olfactus. savour, he expressed the joy he felt in his sense of Smelling.

Thus growing more deeply enamoured in great contentment with himself, he ventured to see her in the pride of
Visus. her nakedness ; which doing by stealth, he discovered the comfort he conceived in Seeing, and the glory of her beauty.

Not yet satisfied, he useth all his art to make known his being there without her offence ; or, being necessarily offended,
Gustus. to appease her, which done, he entreats a kiss, to serve for satisfaction of his Taste, which he obtains.

Then proceeds he to entreaty for the fifth sense,
Tactus. and there is interrupted."

Shakespeare's 141st sonnet, written to the " dark lady," refers to his " five senses," evidently reflecting Chapman's *Auditus*, *Olfactus*, *Visus*, *Gustus*, *Tactus* : he also alludes to a " sensual feast," which I take to be a reference to Chapman's *Banquet of Sense*.

SONNET CXLI.

In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes,
For they in thee a thousand errors note ;
But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
Who, in despite of view, is pleased to dote ;
Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted ;
Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone,
Nor taste, nor smell, desire to be invited
To any sensual feast with thee alone :

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But my five wits nor my five senses can
Dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee,
Who leaves unsway'd the likeness of a man,
Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be :
Only my plague thus far I count my gain,
That she that makes me sin awards me pain.

These parallels, and the evidence already advanced regarding the present stage of Shakespeare's relations with the "dark lady," give good warrant for dating this sonnet at this period. A still stronger and more plainly intentional parallel, which enables me to place two other sonnets of the Dark Lady series at this same period, is to be found between these sonnets and Chapman's *Amorous Zodiac*. Chapman, shielding himself behind the figure of Ovid, designates his poems *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* and evidently again indicating Ovid " ' His ' Amorous Zodiac." In the latter poem he addresses his mistress, or represents Ovid as addressing his mistress, in thirty verses, coupling and comparing her physical beauty with the signs of the Zodiac, as representing the months of the year, and endowing her with all the graces of the seasons and the glories of the heavens. A few verses of the *Amorous Zodiac* will render the parallel obvious :

THE AMOROUS ZODIAC

I.

I never see the sun but suddenly
My soul is moved with spite and jealousy
Oh his high bliss, in his sweet course discern'd :
And am displeased to see so many signs,
As the bright sky unworthily divines,
Enjoy an honour they have never earn'd.

II.

To think heaven decks with such a beauteous show,
A harp, a ship, a serpent or a crow ;
And such a crew of creatures of no prices,
But to excite in us th' unshamefaced flames,
With which, long since, Jove wrong'd so many dames,
Reviving in his rule their names and vices.

III.

Dear Mistress, whom the gods bred here below,
T'express their wondrous power and let us know
That before thee they naught did perfect make ;
Why may not I—as in those signs, the sun—
Shine in thy beauties, and as roundly run,
To frame, like him, an endless Zodiac.

IV.

With thee I'll furnish both the year and sky,
Running in thee my course of destiny :
And thou shalt be the rest of all my moving,
But of thy numberless and perfect graces,
To give my moons their full in twelve months' spaces,
I choose but twelve in guerdon of my loving.

V.

Keeping even way through every excellence,
I'll make in all an equal residence
Of a new Zodiac ; a new Phœbus guising.
When, without altering the course of nature,
I'll make the seasons good, and every creature
Shall henceforth reckon day, from my first rising.

VI.

To open then the springtime's golden gate,
And flower my race with ardour temperate,
I'll enter by thy head, and have for house
In my first month, this heaven Ram-curved tress,
Of which Love all his charm-chains doth address,
A sign fit for a spring so beauteous.

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VII.

Lodged in that fleece of hair, yellow and curl'd,
I'll take high pleasure to enlight the world,
And fetter me in gold thy crisp implies
Earth, at this spring, spongy and langoursome
With envy of our joys in love become,
Shall swarm with flowers, and air with painted flies.

VIII.

Thy smooth embow'd brow, where all grace I see,
My second month, and second house shall be ;
Which brow, with her clear beauties shall delight
The Earth, yet sad, and overture confer
To herbs, buds, flowers, and verdure-gracing Ver,
Rendering her more than summer exquisite.

IX.

See this fresh April, this sweet month of Venus,
I will admire this brow so bounteous ;
This brow, brave court of love and virtue builded ;
This brow where Chastity holds garrison ;
This brow that blushless none can look upon,
This brow, with every grace and honour gilded.

That Chapman is the poet meant by Shakespeare in the following lines as "that muse," and that the *Amorous Zodiac* is the poem referred to, a most casual comparison will reveal :

So is it not with me as with *that Muse*
Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,
Who heaven itself for ornament doth use
And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a couplement of proud compare,
With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,
With April's first-born flowers, and all things rare
That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems.

Should the reader have any doubt remaining, a comparison of Chapman's *L'Envoy* to this poem with the last six lines of the 21st sonnet will remove them.

L'ENVOY

XXIX.

Dear mistress, if poor wishes heaven would hear,
I would not choose the empire of the water ;
The empire of the air, nor of the earth,
But endlessly my course of life confining,
In this fair Zodiac for ever shining,
And with thy beauties make me endless mirth.

XXX.

But gracious love, if jealous heaven deny
My life this truly blest variety,
Yet will I thee through all the world disperse ;
If not in heaven, amongst those braving fires,
Yet here thy beauties, which the world admires,
Bright as those flames shall glisten in my verse.

If these two verses be compared with the remaining lines of the 21st sonnet, the parallel not only becomes complete, but shows us clearly what Shakespeare meant by

those gold candles fix'd in heaven's air,

and explains the hitherto enigmatical concluding line of the sonnet that has proved such a puzzle to the critics in the past :

I will not praise that purpose not to sell.

We have here Shakespeare's plain avowal that these sonnets were not written for publication or sale.

The sense of the rearranged Sonnets will show that this sonnet numbered 21st in Thorpe's arrangement is there out of its place. Its palpable context with the 130th sonnet indicates its connection with the series to the "dark lady," and also warrants me in dating the composition of both of these sonnets later than the date of the publication of Chapman's poems in 1595 and, therefore, at about the same time as the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which also

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glances at Chapman's poems and their dedications. I give both sonnets to show their connection.

SONNET XXI.

So is it not with me as with that Muse
Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,
Who heaven itself for ornament doth use
And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a couplement of proud compare,
With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,
With April's first-born flowers and all things rare
That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems.
O, let me, true in love, but truly write,
And then believe me my love is as fair
As any mother's child, though not so bright
As those gold candles fix'd in heaven's air :
Let them say more that like of hearsay well ;
I will not praise that purpose not to sell.

SONNET CXXX.

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun ;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red ;
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun ;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.
I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks ;
And in some perfumes is there more delight
Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.
I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
That music hath a far more pleasing sound :
I grant I never saw a goddess go,
My mistress when she walks, treads on the ground :
And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare.

When I first became aware of the satirical purpose of *Love's Labour's Lost* in regard to Chapman and his poems, and argued for a date of composition later than the date of the publication of those poems, I was misled, not only by the palpable satire and caricature in those acts that I

now suggest as the major portion of the "augmentation" of the first period of revision, but also by the fact that the argument of the first four acts of *Love's Labour's Lost* in favour of the love of woman and a natural joy of life seemed to be a direct challenge and answer to the gloomy and impenetrable nonsense of Chapman's *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, wherein he exhorts his readers to "study, fasting and philosophy" in the following strain :

Since day, or light, in any quality,
For earthly uses do but serve the eye ;
And since the eye's most quick and dangerous use,
Enflames the heart, and learns the soul abuse ;
Since mournings are preferred to banquettings,
And they reach heaven, bred under sorrow's wings ;
Since Night brings terror to our frailties still,
And shameless Day doth marble us in ill,
All you possess'd with indepressed spirits,
Endued with nimble and aspiring wits,
Come consecrate with me to sacred Night
Your whole endeavours, and detest the light.
No pen can anything eternal write,
That is not steep'd in humour of the Night.

Rich-taper'd sanctuary of the blest,
Palace of ruth, made all of tears, and rest,
To thy black shades and desolation
I consecrate my life.

Ye living spirits then if any live,
Whom like extremes do like affections give,
Shun, shun this cruel light, and end your thrall,
In these soft shades of sable funeral.

Kneel then with me, fall wormlike on the ground,
And from the infectious dunghill of this round,
From men's brass wits and golden foolery,
Weep, weep your souls into felicity :
Come to the house of mourning, serve the Night
To whom pale Day . . .
Is but a drudge, etc. etc.

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The evidence that has led me to the conviction that I have now reached, in accordance with the general judgment of the text critics, that this play, in its original form, antedated the period of the publication of Chapman's poems by several years, and the further evidence I have found regarding its early action as a reflection of the Cowdray festivities, has helped to solve my difficulties in regard to the period of the inception of the hostility between Shakespeare and Chapman. While *Love's Labour's Lost* undoubtedly satirises the spirit of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, and, in one passage, pointedly refers to its theories as the "school of Night" and also indicates and satirises the poems and dedication of 1595, it is not at all likely that this attack of Shakespeare's upon Chapman was unprovoked. We see plainly that Chapman attacks some person, or persons, in his dedications of 1594 and 1595: it is evident that Shakespeare recognises Chapman's abuse as applying to him; now, if the dedication of the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night* was directed at Shakespeare, does it not become evident that Chapman's philosophy of darkness and the night was pointed at Shakespeare's previous championship of love, light and a joyous life in *Love's Labour's Lost* in its earlier form, and that the numerous personal interludes in Chapman's poems, such as—

Wealth fawns on fools; virtues are meat for vices,
Wisdom conforms herself to all Earth's guises,
Good gifts are often given to men past good,
And noblesse stoops sometimes beneath his blood—

were flings against Shakespeare, and that his revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*, with its still stronger glorification of love and the gladness of life, as well as his satire and caricature of Chapman and his thrusts at his gloomy theories,

was his answer in 1595 to Chapman's previous attack upon this play in its original form? In this light we find an explanation for, and a meaning in, these extraordinary "Hymns" of Chapman's, which otherwise seem incomprehensible.

The literary, social and financial success of the comparatively unlettered son of the Stratford butcher, John Shakespeare, compared with his own neglected and impecunious condition, coupled with his singularly cantankerous and arrogant disposition, accounts for many of Chapman's "incongruous digressions and impenetrable allusions" as well as for the "fury in his words." It is rather curious to notice in Chapman's attacks upon Shakespeare how frequently he indicates him by the words "ignorance" and "impiety"; it is also noticeable that Shakespeare recognises the strokes as meant for him, and in mocking humour accepts the references to himself in some of the sonnets where he notices Chapman, as, for instance, in sonnet 78:

So oft have I invoked thee for my Muse
And found such fair assistance in my verse
As every alien pen hath got my use
And under thee their poesy disperse.
Thine eyes, that taught the dumb on high to sing
And heavy ignorance aloft to fly,
Have added feathers to the learned's wing
And given grace a double majesty.
Yet be most proud of that which I compile,
Whose influence is thine and born of thee:
In others' work thou dost but mend the style,
And arts with thy sweet graces graced be;
But thou art all my art, and dost advance
As high as learning my rude ignorance.

One instance of the manner in which Shakespeare shows his recognition of Chapman's antagonistic intentions in

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The Shadow of Night and its dedication, as well as the dedication and poems of the following year, occurs in the opening scene of *Love's Labour's Lost*, where Shakespeare portrays Ferdinand, King of Navarre, and his lords possessed with the spirit of *The Shadow of Night*. They swear to eschew for three years all natural pleasures and the society of women and to give themselves up to study, fasting and philosophy. In the character of Biron he introduces the "little rift within the lute." In several plays Shakespeare seems to have adopted the plan of using one particular character as a running commentary, or explanatory chorus, to reinforce the spirit, or intention, of the play. In *As You Like It*, Jacques seems to fill such a rôle; in *Troilus and Cressida*, Ulysses; and Enobarbus, in *Antony and Cleopatra*. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Biron in a similar capacity seems to be Shakespeare's personal mouthpiece in attacking the unnatural theories of the School of Night. Act I. Scene i. opens with the King addressing his fellow-ascetics as follows:

KING. Let fame, that all hunt after in their lives,
 Live register'd upon our brazen tombs,
 And then grace us in the disgrace of death;
 When, spite of cormorant devouring Time,
 The endeavour of this present breath may buy
 That honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge,
 And make us heirs of all eternity.
 Therefore, brave conquerors,—for so you are,
 That war against your own affections
 And the huge army of the world's desires,—
 Our late edict shall strongly stand in force:
 Navarre shall be the wonder of the world;
 Our Court shall be a little Academe,
 Still and contemplative in living art.
 You three, Biron, Dumain, and Longaville,
 Have sworn for three years' term to live with me
 My fellow-scholars, and to keep those statutes
 That are recorded in this schedule here:

Your oaths are pass'd ; and now subscribe your names,
That his own hand may strike his honour down
That violates the smallest branch herein :

If you are arm'd to do as sworn to do,
Subscribe to your deep oaths, and keep it too.

LONG. I am resolved ; 'tis but a three years' fast :
The mind shall banquet, though the body pine :
Fat paunches have lean pates ; and dainty bits
Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits.

DUM. My loving lord, Dumain is mortified :
The grosser manner of these world's delights
He throws upon the gross world's baser slaves :
To love, to wealth, to pomp, I pine and die ;
With all these living in philosophy.

BIRON. I can but say their protestation over ;
So much, dear liege, I have already sworn,
That is, to live and study here three years.
But there are other strict observances ;
As not to see a woman in that term,
Which I hope well is not enrolled there ;
And one day in a week to touch no food,
And but one meal on every day beside,
The which I hope is not enrolled there ;
And then to sleep but three hours in the night,
And not be seen to wink of all the day,—
When I was wont to think no harm all night,
And make a dark night too of half the day,—
Which I hope well is not enrolled there :
O, these are barren tasks, too hard to keep,
Not to see ladies, study, fast, not sleep !

KING. Your oath is pass'd to pass away from these.

BIRON. Let me say no, my liege, an if you please :
I only swore to study with your grace,
And stay here in your court for three years' space.

LONG. You swore to that, Biron, and to the rest.

BIRON. By yea and nay, sir, then I swore in jest.
What is the end of study ? let me know.

KING. Why, that to know, which else we should not know.

BIRON. Things hid and barr'd, you mean, from common
sense ?

KING. Ay, that is study's god-like recompense.

BIRON. Come on, then ; I will swear to study so,
To know the thing I am forbid to know :

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As thus,—to study where I well may dine,
 When I to feast expressly am forbid ;
 Or study where to meet some mistress fine,
 When mistresses from common sense are hid ;
 Or, having sworn too hard a keeping oath,
 Study to break it, and not break my troth.
 If study's gain be thus, and this be so,
 Study knows that which yet it doth not know :
 Swear me to this and I will ne'er say no.

KING. These be the stops that hinder study quite,
 And train our intellects to vain delight.

BIRON. Why, all delights are vain ; but that most vain,
 Which, with pain purchased, doth inherit pain :
 As, painfully to pore upon a book
 To seek the light of truth ; while truth the while
 Doth falsely blind the eyesight of his look :
 Light, seeking light, doth light of light beguile :
 So, ere you find where light in darkness lies,
 Your light grows dark by losing of your eyes.
 Study me how to please the eye indeed,
 By fixing it upon a fairer eye ;
 Who dazzling so, that eye shall be his heed,
 And give him light that it was blinded by.
 Study is like the heaven's glorious sun,
 That will not be deep-searched by saucy looks.
 Small have continual plodders ever won,
 Save base authority from others' books.
 These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
 That give a name to every fixed star,
 Have no more profit of their shining nights
 Than those that walk and wot not what they are.
 Too much to know, is to know nought but fame ;
 And every godfather can give a name.

All this points very plainly to the earnest though vague and impossible theories set forth in *The Shadow of Night* ; the learning and philosophy which Chapman there endeavours to extol is certainly " hid and barr'd from common sense." This poem is so filled with phrases and similies borrowed from obscure classics, with what Biron calls

Base authority from others' books,

that Chapman, conscious of their obscurity and to explain the borrowed conceits, appends a glossary, which to the mass of his readers would make the darkness still darker. In both of these "Hymns," but especially in the second, which he names *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, he makes free use of the names of stars and constellations, and sometimes, not content with one name, gives us several for the same heavenly body : for the moon he gives us Cynthia, Lucinia, Ilythia, Prothyrea, Diana, Luna and Hecate ; proving himself a veritable "earthly godfather of heaven's lights."

While the antithesis between *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Shadow of Night* is evident, it may be argued that it is accidental. There is, however, an expression used by Shakespeare in Act iv. Scene iii. hitherto quite meaningless ; in consequence of which the following emendations have, from time to time, been proposed : "scowl of night," "shade of night," "seal of night," "scroll of night," "shroud of night," "soul of night," "stole of night" and "shoote of night," the word "shoote" being intended for suit. None of these changes improves the verse or gives it a plausible meaning. This is one of the numerous instances in which Shakespeare has been misimproved by the commentators. The phrase "school of night," as it appears in both the Quarto and Folio, is evidently correct, referring, as it does, to the scholastic pose assumed by Chapman in the *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*. The fitness of the word "school" to Chapman's cloudy philosophy is displayed in several passages of these poems wherein he calls upon other poets to the worship of sorrow and the night. He also uses the word "black" so often in his praise of the night as the mistress of his spirit that the full gist of Shakespeare's reference becomes clear when we transpose

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the line and give its plain prose meaning: black is the hue of the school of night. A few passages will illustrate Chapman's "school":

Day of deep students, most contentful night.

Men's faces glitter and their hearts are black,
But thou (great mistress of heaven's gloomy rack)
Art black in face, and glitter'st in thy heart.

Rich-taper'd sanctuary of the blest,
Palace of ruth, made all of tears, and rest,
To thy black shades and desolation
I consecrate my life.

Ye living spirits then, if any live
Whom like extremes do like affections give,
Shun, shun this cruel light, and end your thrall,
In these soft shades of sable funeral.

Kneel then with me, fall worm-like on the ground
And from the infectious dunghill of this round,
From men's brass wits and golden foolery,
Weep, weep your souls, into felicity.
Come to the house of mourning, serve the night
To whom pale day . . .
Is but a drudge.

Since day, or light, in any quality,
For earthly uses do but serve the eye;
And since the eyes most quick and dangerous use,
Enflames the heart, and learns the soul abuse;
Since mournings are preferred to banquettings,
And they reach heaven, bred under sorrow's wings;
Since night brings terror to our frailty still,
And shameless day doth marble us in ill,
All you possess'd with indepressed spirits,
Endued with nimble, and aspiring wits,
Come consecrate with me to sacred night
Your whole endeavours, and detest the light.
*No pen can anything eternal write,
That is not steep'd in humour of the night.*

If these lines be compared with the passage from *Love's Labour's Lost* in which Biron at the invitation of the King and his gentlemen—to prove their “loving lawful” and their “faith not torn”—speaks in favour of light, love and a natural life, most unmistakable antithesis appears :

BIRON. But love first learned in a lady's eyes,
Lives not alone immured in the brain ;
But, with the motion of all elements,
Courses as swift as thought in every power,
And gives to every power a double power
Above their functions and their offices.
It adds a precious seeing to the eye ;
A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind ;
A lover's ear will hear the lowest sound,
When the suspicious head of theft is stopp'd :
Love's feeling is more soft and sensible
Than are the tender horns of cockled snails ;
Love's tongue proves dainty Bacchus gross in taste :
For valour, is not Love a Hercules,
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides ?
Subtle as Sphinx ; as sweet and musical
As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair ;
And when Love speaks, the voice of all the gods
Makes heaven drowsy with the harmony.
*Never durst poet touch a pen to write
Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs.*

If the concluding lines of the two passages (which I have italicised) be compared, not only antithesis but intentional paraphrase is also displayed.

A most casual reading of *Love's Labour's Lost* will show many other passages lacking in sense, point or wit, unless they originally had a topical significance. Most of these passages are directed at Chapman and his poems. Costard's salacious references to “ L'Envoy ” and “ goose ” evidently refer to the fleshly suggestiveness of Chapman's *L'Envoy* to his *Amorous Zodiac*, which, if taken at its face value,

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would reveal that sanctimonious old moralist in a most "capricious" mood. Chapman's freakish attempt at sensuousness in *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* and *The Amorous Zodiac*, seems to have afforded Shakespeare much amusement. In Act v. Scene ii. we have a stroke at these peculiar poems of Chapman's :

PRINCESS. None are so surely caught when they are caught
As wit turned fool ; folly, in wisdom hatched,
Has wisdom's warrant and the help of school
And wit's own grace to grace a learned fool.

ROSALINE. The blood of youth burns not with such excess
As gravity's revolt to wantonness.

MAR. Folly in fools bears not so strong a note,
As foolery in the wise, when wit doth dote ;
Since all the power thereof it doth apply,
To prove by wit, worth in simplicity.

These lines are spoken by the Princess, Rosaline and Margaret criticising Biron, who has the reputation of being a wit ; but Biron is neither grave, nor old, nor learned. He is described in the play in the following terms :

Biron they call him, but a merrier man,
Within the limit of becoming mirth,
I never spent an hour's talk withal :
His eye begets occasion for his wit ;
For every object that the one doth catch,
The other turns to a mirth-moving jest,
Which his fair tongue, conceit's expositor,
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings are quite ravished
So sweet and voluble is his discourse.

In these lines in which Shakespeare describes Biron he seems to describe himself and his intentions in this play. The description certainly does not fit the expressions used in the lines quoted above :

The blood of youth burns not with such excess
As gravity's revolt to wantonness.

Biron is not grave, nor does the action of the play show in him any "revolt to wantonness," and the expressions "learned fool," "foolery in the wise," do not at all apply to his characterisation; they are evidently directed at Chapman's sensational departure in his two sensuous poems. A casual reading of Chapman's other poems, *Hymns to the Shadow of Night*, *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, *The Tears of Peace*, *Penitential Psalms*, *A Hymn to Christ upon the Cross*, *Epicedium*, *Pro Vere Autumni Lachrymæ*, etc. etc., will show the *Amorous Zodiac*, and *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, to be a very peculiar breaking away from his usual strains and quite out of accord with his scholastic and puritanical mentality.

CHAPTER XII

SHOWING GEORGE CHAPMAN AS THE ORIGINAL OF HOLOFERNES AND MATTHEW ROYDON AS THE CURATE NATHANIEL IN *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*

IT is now evident that Chapman's poems of 1594 and 1595 are indicated by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and consequently that those portions of the play that refer to these poems, or satirise Chapman, belong to a period of revision later than the publication of Chapman's poems.

It is obvious that the bodily incorporation of Scene ii. Act iv., Scene i. Act v., and the lines numbered from 530 to 720 in Scene ii. Act v., into this play took place some time in or after the year 1595, when Shakespeare revised and augmented it as an answer to Chapman's and Roydon's recent attacks; the play is a dramatic entity with the above-mentioned scenes and lines and their few palpably forced connecting links with the original play eliminated. We may then assume that the *dramatis personæ* of the original play did not include either Holofernes or Nathaniel.

It has long been suspected by critics that Holofernes is a caricature of some pedantic original. A personal intention has also been suggested in the characterisation

of Armado. Early in the past century Mr. Warburton and Dr. Farmer suggested that John Florio was possibly the original of Holofernes, basing their supposition upon a supposed resemblance between the flowery and bombastic prefaces and addresses to Florio's *World of Wordes* published in 1598 and portions of the dialogue spoken by Holofernes. It has been plausibly suggested by other critics, who have considered these inferences of Warburton and Farmer, that the resemblance between Florio's addresses and prefaces and the letters and speeches of Armado are much closer than in the case of Holofernes' utterances. It is suggestive that these resemblances should have been noticed years ago by critics who had no inkling of the personal theory in regard to the Sonnets and to the plays of the sonnet period here being developed. I am convinced that Shakespeare has caricatured Chapman in the person of Holofernes, Roydon as the curate Nathaniel, and Florio as Armado. The caricature of Florio, however, while evidently accentuated at a period of revision shortly before the publication of the Quarto in 1598, probably pertained in a milder degree to the original play.

An analysis of the dialogue and characterisation of these added scenes will show the personal reflections regarding Chapman and Roydon. Every fault and foible caricatured in Holofernes will be found in Chapman's *Shadow of Night*, Ovid's *Banquet of Sense*, *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy* and his *Amorous Zodiac*, with their dedications and glossaries. The bombastic verbosity and tautology, the "expressive epithets," the erudition gone to seed, the overweening scorn of ignorance, the extravagant similes, the far-fetched conceits and the pedantic Latinity

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of Chapman's poems, dedications and glossaries are not only suggested, but actually parodied in *Love's Labour's Lost*. For the guidance of the reader in making his comparison I will point out a few of the more palpable reflections.

Holofernes is first introduced into the play discussing the age and quality of a deer that has been killed by the Princess :

Holo. The deer was, as you know, sanguis, in blood ; ripe as the pomewater, who now hangeth like a jewel in the ear of Caelo, the sky, the welkin, the heaven ; and anon falleth like a crab on the face of terra, the soil, the land, the earth.

NATH. Truly, Master Holofernes, the epithets are sweetly varied, like a scholar at the least, but, Sir, I assure ye, it was a buck of the first head.

Compare this with the following extract from the dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* :

Obscurity in affection of words and indigested conceits is pedantical and childish ; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttered with fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I still labour to be shadowed.

And again—

DULL. It was not a haud credo ; 'twas a pricket.

Holo. Most barbarous intimation ! Yet a kind of insinuation, as it were, in via, in way, of explication ; facere, as it were, replication, or rather, ostentare, to show, as it were, his inclination, after his undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or, rather, unlettered, or, ratherest, unconfirmed fashion, to insert again my haud credo for a deer.

Compare this effort of Holofernes with the following extract from the dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* :

It serves not a skilful painter's turn, to draw the face of a figure only, to make known who it represents ; but he must limn, give lustre, shadow and heightening ; which though ignorants will esteem spiced and too curious, yet such as have the judicial perspective will see that it hath motion, spirit, and life.

And again :

DULL. I said the deer was not a haud credo ; 'twas a pricket.

HOLO. Twice sod simplicity, bis coctus ! O thou monster ignorance, how deformed dost thou look !

NATH. Sir, he hath never fed of the dainties that are bred in a book ; he hath not eat paper as it were ; he hath not drunk ink : his intellect is not replenished ; he is only an animal, only sensible in the duller parts :

And such barren plants are set before us, that we thankful should be,

Which we of taste and feeling are, for those parts that do fructify in us more than he.

Compare the supercilious attitude of these scholars, Holofernes and Nathaniel, towards the unlearned Dull with the spirit of the following passages from Chapman's dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* :

Such is the wilful poverty of judgments, sweet Matthew, wandering like passportless men, in contempt of the divine discipline of poesy, that a man may well fear to frequent their walks. The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits whom learning hath made noble, and nobility sacred, etc.

I know that empty and dark spirits will complain of palpable night ; but those that beforehand have a radiant and light-bearing intellect, will say that they can pass through Corinna's garden without the help of a lantern.

The same attitude towards the ignorant multitude is also expressed in a footnote to the glossary of *The Shadow of Night* as follows :

For the rest of his own invention, figures and similies, touching their aptness and novelty, he hath not laboured to justify them because he hopes they will be proved enough to justify themselves, and prove sufficiently authentical to such as understand them ; for the rest, God help them.

In comparing these extracts with the caricature in the play, we see the contemptuous and disdainful spirit of the

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dedications plainly pilloried, the "expressive epithets" reproduced and referred to, and the "profane multitude" indicated in the person of Dull. In the following extracts Shakespeare parodies parts of these dedications and glossaries :

DULL. You are two bookmen : can you tell me by your wit
What was a month old at Cain's birth, that's not five
weeks old as yet ?

HOLO. Dictynna, goodman Dull ; Dictynna, goodman Dull.

DULL. What is Dictynna ?

NATH. A title to Phœbe, to Luna, to the moon.

In Chapman's gloss to *The Shadow of Night* he elucidates what he pretends to consider an enigmatical passage in that poem where he writes of the moon as—

Nature's bright eyesight and the night's fair soul—

a line which, when considered as poetry, scarcely needs elucidation. It is apparent that the gloss is given more with the intention of exhibiting his learning than from a desire to give light. When the gloss is compared with Dull's conundrum and Holofernes' answers, and the introduction of the names Dictynna, Phœbe and Luna for the moon considered, and it is seen that Shakespeare has supplied Chapman with more names for that luminary for which in the gloss Chapman gives us also the five following names, Lucina, Ilythia, Prothyrea, Diana, Hecate, the parody becomes apparent :

" I. He gives her that periphrasis—viz. nature's bright eyesight, because that by her store of humours issue is given to all birth : and therefore is she called Lucina and Ilythia, quia præest parturientibus cum invocaretur, and

gives them help : which Orpheus in a Hymn of her praise expresseth and calls her besides Prothyraea, ut sequitur :

Κλῦθί μοι ᾧ πολύσεμνε θεία, etc.

Audi me veneranda Dea, cui nomina multa :
Prægnantum adjutrix, parientum dulce levamen,
Sola puellarum servatrix, solaque prudens :
Auxilium velox teneris Prothyraea puellis.

And a little after he shows her plainly to be Diana, Ilythia and Prothyraea, in these verses :

Solam animi requiem te clamant parturientes.
Sola potes diros partus placere labores
Diana, Ilythia gravis, sumus et Prothyraea.

"2. He calls her the soul of the night, since she is the purest part of her according to common conceit.

"3. Orpheus in these verses of Argonauticis saith she is thrice-headed, as she is Hecate, Luna, and Diana, ut sequitur :

Cumque illis Hecate properans horrenda cucurrit
Cui trinum caput est, genuit quam Tartarus olim."

While this gloss of Chapman's and its pedantic spirit is evidently caricatured by Shakespeare, it is apparent that Shakespeare made use of the classical knowledge he derived from it in his references to the triplicity of Hecate.

One more parallel savours strongly of parody, where (Nathaniel having read Dumain's canzonet aloud) Holofernes holds forth as follows :

Holo. You find not the apostrophes, and so miss the accent : let me supervise the canzonet. Here are only numbers ratified ; but for the elegancy, facility, and golden cadence of poesy, caret. Ovidius Naso was the man : and why, indeed, Naso, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention ? Imitari is nothing : so doth the hound his master, the ape his keeper, the tired horse his rider.

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Compare this passage with the following extract from the dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* :

The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits whom learning hath made noble, and nobility sacred ; endeavouring that material oration which you call schema ; varying in some rare fiction from popular custom, even for the pure sakes of ornament and utility ; this of Euripides exceeding sweetly relishing with me ; *lentem coquens ne quicquam dentis addito*.

But that poesy should be as perval as oratory, and plainness her special ornament, were the plain way to barbarism, and to make the ass run proud of his ears, to take away strength from lions, and to give camels horns.

That energia or clearness of representation required in absolute poems is not the perspicuous delivery of a low invention ; but high and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected phrase.

If one not acquainted with these extracts from Chapman's dedications and *Love's Labour's Lost* or with their sources was told that one was a satire on the spirit of the other, he would verily be at a loss to know which was meant for sense and which for nonsense. The pedantic Latinity of these extracts, the triple phrases in each—the hound, the horse and the ape in one ; the ass, the lion and the camel in the other—the introduction of Euripides by Chapman and of Ovidius Naso by Shakespeare most strongly suggest parody.

When examined more critically there is something even stronger than parody in this passage. Seeing that Shakespeare is here caricaturing Chapman as Holofernes, and that he has parodied a passage from his dedication to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, we may infer that Chapman makes a stroke at Shakespeare in the following words :

But that poesy should be as perval as oratory, and plainness her special ornament, were the plain way to barbarism, and to make the

ass run proud of his ears, to take away strength from lions, and to give camels horns ;

and that Shakespeare, recognising Chapman's intention, not only parodies the passage but through the mouth of Holofernes names Ovid, insinuating that Chapman's poem is a mere imitation of that poet.

"Let me supervise the canzonet," says Holofernes, and then continues :

Here are only numbers ratified ; but for the elegancy, facility and golden cadence of poesy, caret. Ovidius Naso was the man : and why, indeed, Naso, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention ? Imitari is nothing : so doth the hound his master, the ape his keeper, the tired horse his rider.

Shakespeare here practically says that Chapman in *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* has merely "ratified numbers," that is, that he has only built the structure of the verse, but has borrowed his flowers of fancy, or imagery, and his invention from Ovid ; and as Chapman accuses him of being "too perval" and "plain," saying that "plainness is the way to barbarism, to make the ass run proud of his ears, to take away strength from lions, and to give camels horns," so Shakespeare accuses him of lack of originality and imitation of Ovid ; and parodying Chapman's passage just quoted, says : "Imitari is nothing : so doth the hound his master, the ape his keeper, and the tired horse his rider."

Another passage in this play points at Chapman. In Act v. Scene i. Armado addresses Holofernes as follows :

ARM. Arts man, preambulate, we will be singuled from the barbarous. Do you not educate youth at the charge house on the top of the mountain ?

HOLO. Or Mons, the hill.

ARM. At your sweet pleasure, for the mountain.

HOLO. I do, sans question.

Being unable to find any record of Chapman's occupa-

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tion previous to the date of the publication of *The Shadow of Night* (1594) in the meagre records we possess of his life, I supposed it hopeless to look for any evidence connecting Chapman with this allusion to Holofernes' avowed occupation ; I formerly suggested that if English students, having access to records and sources, impossible to me, cared to follow up my theory, they might find that Chapman, some time during the hidden years of his life, between 1574 and 1594 and possibly for a while later, had earned his livelihood as a schoolmaster, and that the school at which he taught would be found to have been located, as indicated in this passage, somewhere on a hill. In Chapman's *Tears of Peace*, however, I find a passage that plainly shows us Chapman's abode during at least a portion and possibly the whole of this period ; and that also lends point to this allusion in *Love's Labour's Lost*. In the *Tears of Peace* Chapman pictures himself as in a reverie, when the spirit of Homer appears to him, whom he addresses as follows :

. . . O thou, that, blind, doth see
My heart and soul, what may I reckon thee,
Whose heavenly looks shows not, nor voice sounds man ?
I am, said he, that spirit Elysian
That in thy native air, and *on the hill*
Next Hitchens left hand, did thy bosom fill
With such a flood of soul that thou were fain,
With explanations of her raptures there,
To vent it to the echoes of the vale ;
When, meditating of me, a sweet gale
Brought me upon thee, and thou did'st inherit
My true sense, for the time then, in my spirit ;
And I, invisibly went prompting thee
To those fair greens where thou did'st English me ;
Scarce had he uttered this when well I knew
It was my prince's Homer.

From this we see that Chapman, before coming to

London, lived on a hill near the village of Hitchen, in Hertfordshire. It is possible that even though other records of Chapman's residence and occupation there may not now be extant that it may be known and shown that a church-house or Charter House school formerly existed there. Chapman's style and manner very strongly suggest the pedagogue ; his dogmatic and overbearing attitude towards all but scholars like himself bespeaks the manner of the village schoolmaster.

Further evidence confirms this avowal of Chapman's as to his earlier abode and possibly refers also to the avocation which I have assigned him. William Browne in *Britannia's Pastorals* alludes to him as :

The learned shepherd of Fair Hitching Hill.

The term shepherd possibly applies to his occupation as schoolmaster.

Turning to a consideration of the curate Nathaniel as a caricature of the curate Matthew Roydon, the name Nathaniel is synonymous with Matthew, but aside from the practical identity of these names and the fact that Nathaniel is represented as an intimate friend of Holofernes (as we know Roydon was of Chapman's) there is another point at Roydon in Act iv. Scene ii. When Jaquenetta presents Biron's letter to Holofernes to read, she ends her request with the words :

I beseech you read it.

The words "*I beseech you*" act as a spark to Holofernes' classical ammunition, and he spouts forth an utterly irrelevant passage from Friar Mantuanus' Latin :

HOLO. Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
Ruminat,¹—and so forth.

¹ Faustus, *I beseech you* when the whole herd is chewing the cud under the cool shade.

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He then continues :

Ah, good old Mantuan ! I speak of thee as the traveller does
of Venice ;

Venetia, Venetia,

Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan ! who understandeth thee not, loves
thee not.

This reference to Friar Mantuan, and especially the words, " Old Mantuan, old Mantuan ! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not," is evidently a reference to Roydon's condemnation of Friar Mantuan in the " Address to the Reader " prefixed to *Willobie his Avis*, which was published some months previous to the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

At times when Shakespeare wishes strongly to enforce a point or accentuate a dramatic situation he does so by arousing expectancy in his auditors. In Act iv. Scene ii., Nathaniel reads Biron's verses, when Holofernes expatiates upon them in a manner suggestive of Chapman, and evidently parodying phrases of Chapman's dedications. His attention becomes temporarily diverted, but he returns to the subject of the criticism of the verses at the end of the scene and invites Nathaniel to dine at the " father's of a certain pupil " of his where he promises further to criticise the verses. Here the scene ends, and the scholars do not appear again until the beginning of Act v. Scene i., where they are introduced as follows :

HOLO. Satis quod sufficit.

NATH. I praise God for you, sir : your reasons at dinner have been sharp and sententious ; *pleasant without scurrility, witty without affection, audacious without impudency, learned without opinion, and strange without heresy.*

These words of Nathaniel's palpably paraphrase and

parody the following passage from Roydon's "Address to the Reader":

For the composition and order of the verse, although he fly not aloft with wings of Astrophel, nor dare to compare with the Arcadian shepherd, or anyway match with the dainty Faerie Queen, yet shall you find his words and phrases neither trivial, nor absurd; but all the whole work, for the verse *pleasant, without hardness, smooth without any roughness, sweet without tediousness, easy to be understood, without harsh absurdity*; yielding a gracious harmony everywhere to the delight of the reader.

A critical analysis of the action and dialogue of Act v. Scene i., made with the link of expectancy from Act iv. Scene ii. already noticed in mind, shows that the whole significance of the anticipation raised centres in the indicative intention (regarding Roydon) of the first ten lines of this scene. The scene contains 161 lines; of these, aside from the first ten, Nathaniel speaks only three, two of which are Latin and of an ecclesiastical flavour.¹

The satire of the first revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* was directed more particularly at Chapman; Roydon being introduced as Holofernes' friend Nathaniel, merely incidentally. His birch, however, was now in pickle, and was administered a few months later in the parody introduced into *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at a period of revision which I date in about 1596, after the second publication or attempted publication of *Willobie his Avis*.

While the title-page of the Quarto of *Love's Labour's*

¹ In the *Register of Canterbury Cathedral*, I have recently found what is probably a record of the burial of Matthew Roydon. Under date of 4th October 1625 is recorded the burial of "Mr. — Roydon." In the explanatory notes, we are informed, that "with the exception of the marriages the entries relate principally to the clergy and their families who resided within the precincts." The last we have hitherto known of Roydon was his appointment, before 1621, as the fourth Minor Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral.

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Lost, published in 1598, reads, "A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called Loves Labours lost. As it was presented before her Highness last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespeare," I am of the opinion that this version of the play represents at least two revisions: the first being made late in 1595, or early in 1596, but soon after the publication of Chapman's poems; the second much slighter revision being made just prior to, and with a view to publication in, 1598. In the mention of Achilles and Hector in Act v. Scene ii. we have a connecting link between this play and *Troilus and Cressida*, the first stage production of which I date in 1598. *Troilus and Cressida* was produced to satirise Chapman's Homeric translations, seven books of which were published for the first time in that year. I find several allusions to Chapman in *Troilus and Cressida* that practically repeat similar allusions in *Love's Labour's Lost*, from which I infer that Shakespeare put some finishing touches upon *Love's Labour's Lost* shortly before its publication and at the time that he was at work upon *Troilus and Cressida*. The "last Christmas" mentioned on the title-page of the Quarto refers to Christmas, 1598. The play being published before 25th March 1599, would be dated 1598.

To this same period I also assign a fuller development in the characterisation of Armado as a caricature of John Florio, who in this year published his *Worlde of Wordes*, and with whom I have already shown that Shakespeare had for some time been upon unfriendly terms.¹

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ABSENCE OF SOUTHAMPTON'S INFLUENCE FROM 1595 TO 1597, AND ITS RENEWAL IN *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE* IN THE LATTER YEAR, WITH THE SIXTH BOOK OF SONNETS. 1597

CERTAIN former critics in endeavouring to mark the stages of Shakespeare's dramatic development by determining the chronology of the plays, have divided the years of his literary activity into "periods" which they have named the first, second, third and fourth. Such divisions are at best merely approximations and must necessarily be involved and indefinite owing to the later time revision, or revisions, of nearly all of the early plays. Some of the early plays were so frequently and drastically revised that only very slight evidence remains of their original date of composition. An analysis of the circumstances of Shakespeare's life revealed in the Sonnets and of the influence upon his work exercised by the several characters of the sonnet story, throws much new light upon the progress of his dramatic development during the sonnet period.

Shakespeare's Sonnets to the Earl of Southampton have hitherto been regarded by many critics merely as conventional exercises of an impersonal nature, and by others, who admit the personal equation, largely as fanciful com-

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pliment and without any deep underlying feeling of personal regard for the patron addressed. A comparison of Shakespeare's dramatic work with the concurrent *books* of sonnets reveals such a marked effect upon his work produced by the varying stages and conditions of his relations with his patron, that it becomes evident Shakespeare's regard and affection for this young nobleman was not only deep and sincere, but was also probably the most absorbing personal interest in his life, as well as the most productive inspiration to his genius during the decade between 1591 and 1601, in which latter year Southampton went to the Tower and the intimacy was necessarily disrupted until his release in 1603. The reader who has followed and will still follow the developing chronicle of Shakespeare's association with Southampton, will find that his seasons of most inspired and creative fruitfulness coincide with the periods of his happiest relations with his friend ; and furthermore, that his lyric and dramatic work produced in the intervals of separation or estrangement distinctly reflect a dispirited state of mind.

The Comedy of Errors and *King John*—both composed before Shakespeare had formed an acquaintance with Southampton—mark the beginning of his dramatic career so far as we can now trace it. Neither of these plays show any evidence of Southampton's influence at the period of their original composition, though *King John*—as shall appear—reflects Southampton's affairs in a slight measure in passages which plainly pertain to a revision in 1596. *The Comedy of Errors*, however, reveals an inceptive knowledge of the "dark lady," in the young tavern hostess :

A wench of excellent discourse,
Pretty and witty ; wild, and yet, too, gentle ;

which leads me to infer that Anne Sachfeilde and Davenant were married and occupied the Crosse Inn Tavern before the lease was taken out by the Houghs in 1592 ; or else that Shakespeare had already met her before her marriage, and while she and her mother conducted a tavern at Bristol.

In 1592 we have the next stage of his literary and dramatic progress in the composition of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* with *Venus and Adonis* and the first *book* of sonnets at the same period ; all four of them distinctly reflecting Southampton's affairs.

In 1593 we have the first prolonged separation ; the depression of spirit engendered in the poet at this time being very plainly reflected in *Richard II.* and the second *book* of sonnets. Later on in 1593, and on into the early months of 1594, when knowledge of Southampton's delinquencies reach Shakespeare, we have *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, a first draft of *Henry IV., Part I.*, the revision of *Edward III.*, *Lucrece* and the third *book* of sonnets ; all of them admonitory and reproachful.

A reunion and reconciliation took place in May 1594, when *Lucrece* was dedicated to Southampton and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was composed for Lady Southampton's marriage to Sir Thomas Heneage ; and towards the end of the year the splendid fourth *book* of sonnets and *Romeo and Juliet* appear ; both of them bespeaking the happiest and most lyrical phase of the whole sonnet period, and the latter, inferentially, reflecting the incidents and conditions of Southampton's life in the autumn of 1594.

In the meantime *Willobie his Avis* has been published, and it appears that Chapman has also approached Southampton with the poems which he now and a few months

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later dedicated to his friend Roydon—the author of *Willobie his Avis*a—and in terms derogatory to Shakespeare. In 1595 Shakespeare answers these attacks by the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*, an evident first revision of *Henry IV., Part I.*—which shall be indicated later—and the composition of the fifth, or rival poet, *book* of sonnets.

In the preceding years of Southampton's London life he has been a ward in Chancery and under the guardianship of Burghley. Upon 6th October 1594 he attains his majority and becomes his own master. A year later the wise guidance and restraining influence of his stepfather, Sir Thomas Heneage, is lost to him by the death of that gentleman in October 1595, and it is apparent that the derogatory influence of Florio now increases. From Lafeu's attitude towards Parolles in *Love's Labour's Won* I judge that Heneage—who is evidently reflected in the former character—and his wife, Lady Southampton, regard with disfavour Southampton's intimacy with Florio.

It is at this period that Chapman alludes to Shakespeare as Southampton's reader. Who has informed Chapman of this fact? Who has incited Chapman to seek Southampton's favour? Who has informed Roydon of the incidents concerning Southampton and the "dark lady" at Oxford? Who but Florio, the burlesque Mephistopheles of the situation, who three years later himself alludes to Shakespeare as "a reader and a writer too," and says, "I have a great faction of good writers to bandie with me," at a time when Chapman again attacks Shakespeare; when Roydon for the third time attempts to issue *Willobie his Avis*a and when Marston has joined issue with Chapman against Shakespeare.

Some time after April 1594 Southampton has met and

fallen in love with Elizabeth Vernon, the Earl of Essex's cousin; the composition of *Romeo and Juliet* late in 1594 reflecting this new interest. We have record that in May 1595 Elizabeth Vernon and Southampton personally solicited the Queen's permission to marry and were refused, and that she was still obdurate in September of the same year. In this month Rowland Whyte reports in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney: "My Lord Southampton doth with too much familiarity court the faire Mistress Vernon, while his friends observing the Queen's humours to my Lord of Essex, do what they can to bring her to favour him, but it is yet in vaine." I find no record of Southampton between 17th November 1595 and April 1596. At the former date he participated in a tournament before the Queen—which is celebrated by Peele in his *Anglorum Ferie*—and at the latter we find him at Dover bent upon joining the expedition being organised by the Earl of Essex for the relief of Calais, when an order comes from the Queen commanding Essex to send Southampton and others of the younger noblemen volunteers back to London. Calais having fallen before the expedition was ready to sail, the armaments and forces being mobilised were made the nucleus of the expedition for an attack upon Cadiz, which sailed from England in June 1596. It is usually supposed that Southampton accompanied this expedition, but evidence exists which seems to show his presence in England three weeks after the fleet had sailed. On 1st July 1596 Southampton executed a power of attorney to his servant Richard Rouching, empowering him to receive a thousand pounds "from George, Earl of Cumberland, and John Taylor." Mr. Massey plausibly suggests that this transaction has the appearance of an arrangement such as might

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have been made by Southampton on leaving England in haste. It is probable, however, that this power of attorney was executed while Southampton was with the fleet and that it was sent back to England after he had sailed. In the catalogues of the MSS. in the library of the Earl of Denbigh, *Catalogi Librarum Manuscriptorum Angliae*, etc., vol. 2, page 36, this notice appears: "Diana of Montemayor (the first part) done out of Spanish by Thomas Wilson, Esq., in the year 1596, and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, who was then upon the Spanish voyage with the Earl of Essex." This makes it evident that Southampton was with the English forces during some stage of the war. We have no record of his return, nor of his presence in London, or in England again until February 1597, when he is reported by Rowland Whyte as standing sponsor at the baptism of one of Sir Robert Sidney's children. In March 1597 Rowland Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sidney at Flushing: "My Lord Southampton hath leave for one year to travel and purposes to be with you before Easter." Southampton abandoned this intention, and, instead, joined the expedition, shortly afterwards in preparation for the Island Voyage. He was appointed captain of the *Garland*, and sailed with the fleet from England in July as Vice-Admiral of the first Squadron. This ill-starred and mismanaged expedition, after much tempestuous weather and many setbacks, returned finally to England at the end of October 1597. Southampton, in the *Garland*, performed about the only noteworthy action in this undertaking, of which we have an account in a contemporary record, entitled *Honour in his Perfection*. "Then the fleet returning from Fiall it pleased the general to divide it and he went himself on the one side of Gratoso

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and the Earl of Southampton, with some three more of the Queen's ships and a few small merchant ships, sailed on the other ; when early on a morning by spring of day this brave Southampton lit upon the King of Spain's Indian fleet laden with treasure, being about four or five and thirty sail, and most of them great warlike galleons. They had all the advantage that sea, wind, number of ships or strength of men could give them ; yet, like a fearful herd, they fled from the fury of our Earl, who, notwithstanding, gave them chase with all his canvas. One he took, and sunk her ; divers he dispersed which were taken after, and the rest he drove into the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable." The remainder of this part of the adventure is related by Camden, as follows :

" When the enemies' ships had got off safely to Tercera, Southampton and Vere attempted to crowd into the haven with great boats at midnight, and to cut the cables of the nearest ships, that they might be forced to sea by the gusts which blew from shore."

This project miscarried, the English forces then attacked and looted the town of Villa Franca and returned to their fleet with the plunder. The Spanish attacked the rear guard, in which both the Earls of Southampton and Essex, with some of their friends, remained ; these received the attack, killed many of the Spaniards and forced the remainder to retreat. Southampton took such a leading part in this engagement, and fought with such gallantry, that Essex knighted him on the field " ere he could dry the sweat from his brows or put his sword up in his scabbard."

The rivalry of Raleigh and Essex contributed to much of the mismanagement of this enterprise ; and their

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quarrels being coloured to Essex's discredit by creatures of Cecil's in the fleet, the Queen received both Essex and Southampton coldly upon their return.

From the end of 1595 until the end of 1597 Southampton and Shakespeare came little in contact. Much of Southampton's time during this interval, as I have shown, was taken up by foreign service, and when in England he apparently came strongly under Florio's influence, who still continued in his pay and patronage. It was in this interval, and evidently sometime in 1596, that Mistress Davenant left her husband, or was put away by him. I am of the opinion that Florio brought Southampton in touch with her again at this period, and that Shakespeare's first draft of *Troilus and Cressida*, with Southampton reflected as Troilus, Mistress Davenant as Cressida, and Florio as Pandarus, was composed at this time; though I doubt that it ever was presented upon the stage in this form. My reasons for this opinion shall be found developed in a later chapter.

We have no record of Southampton during the autumn and winter of 1596, following the expedition to Cadiz, but it seems evident that he was in London at this time, as we have record of his presence there in February 1597, when he stood sponsor at the baptism of one of Sir Robert Sidney's children.

Before continuing this chronicle of Southampton's life into the year 1598, we will glance backwards and consider the nature and volume of Shakespeare's literary and dramatic work between 1595 and 1597, during which years his connection with Southampton was necessarily casual and intermittent.

An examination of the chronological order of the plays,

according to Malone, Gervinus, Delius, Fleay, Drake, Stokes, and The New Shakespeare Society, shows a remarkable paucity of new plays assigned to the years 1595-6 and 1597. The chronology approximated by these critics is based altogether upon the metrical tests or other internal and external evidence. No critic has hitherto noticed the peculiar scantiness of new dramatic work in these years.

I am convinced that Shakespeare's work during this period consisted nearly altogether in the revision of his own earlier plays (many of which were originally written for private presentation), and the adaptation of plays by other hands held as theatrical property by his company, in order to fit them to the uses of the public theatre. Lacking the creative inspiration of Southampton's interest in, and demand for, new work, he applied himself to professional ends. Yet even in much of the work of revision, done during this period, the influence of his connection with Southampton and the Essex faction may be traced.

Love's Labour's Lost, reflecting the incidents of the Cowdray progress, and composed originally in 1592, was revised, either in 1595 or 1596, not long after the publication of Chapman's poems of 1595.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, composed originally early in 1594 for presentation at the festivities for Sir Thomas Heneage's marriage to Lady Southampton, was probably revised for the first time in 1596, shortly after the second issue of *Willobie his Avis* and the publication of Peter Colse's *Penelope's Complaint*.

King John, which was originally written in 1591-2 with the intention of arousing sympathy for the cause of Sir John Perrot (whom I indicate as the prototype of Falconbridge, and who at that time was on trial for his life), was

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revised in 1596. Certain internal evidence in this play, which I impute to revision in 1596, has led some critics to date its original composition in that year. A consideration of *King John*, under the metrical tests, denotes its original composition at, or near, the period of the composition of *Richard II*. It was evidently revised in the autumn of 1596, as it distinctly reflects the conditions of Southampton's and Shakespeare's lives at and shortly before that time. I have shown that Southampton, in July 1596, borrowed a thousand pounds from the Earl of Cumberland in order to furnish himself for the Cadiz expedition. This, and similar conditions in the case of other of the younger nobility, are evidently reflected in the following lines :

And all the unsettled humours of the land,
Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,
With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens,
Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs,
 To make a hazard of new fortunes here :
 In brief, a braver choice of dauntless spirits
 Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er
 Did never float upon the swelling tide,
 To do offence and scath in Christendom.

It has been noticed that the pathetic lamentations of Constance on the loss of her boy probably owe their bitterness to Shakespeare's own feelings, his son Hamnet having died in August 1596.

It has also been pointed out that the following lines—

And meretricious shall that land be called,
 Canonized and worshipped as a saint,
 That takes away by any secret course
 Thy hateful life—

might refer to the Papal Bull published against Queen Elizabeth in 1596.

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While this play was evidently largely revised in 1596, the evidence for its original composition at a much earlier period is strong. The new evidence I suggest of its intention regarding the cause of Sir John Perrot has, I believe, made the earlier date of composition conclusive.

In 1597, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* were published for the first time. I am convinced that both plays were revised by Shakespeare at this time for public presentation and with the intention of publication in mind. The first Quarto of *Richard II.* did not name Shakespeare as author on the title-page; a second Quarto issued in the same year bore his name. Similarly the first Quarto of *Richard III.*, published in 1597, appeared without his name, while the second Quarto issued within a year carried it. These were the first plays published with Shakespeare's name on the title-page. The first Quarto of *Richard II.* is admitted by all critics to be more authoritative than the Folio for those portions of the play contained in both versions. The "new addition of the parliament scene and the deposing of Richard II." were not added to a published play until after the death of Elizabeth, in 1603. It is evident, however, that the first Quarto was not a stolen or surreptitiously printed play, and very probable that the parliament scene and deposing of Richard II. were part of the acted play in this year and eliminated by the censors from the publication.

The Quarto of *Richard III.*, issued in 1597, reads on the title-page, "as it hath been *lately* acted by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain his servants," while the Quarto of *Richard II.* reads, "as it hath been *publicly* acted by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain his servants," which from evidence to follow I judge infers that it had been

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privately acted with the deposition scene included, and had given offence to Cecil in this form. In a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to Cecil from Weymouth, dated 6th July 1597, we have evidence that Essex had entertained Cecil with plays before sailing on the Island Voyage, among which a performance of *Richard II.* was included,¹ and that something in this play that was linked in some manner in Cecil's mind with the Queen's affairs had been conveyed by Raleigh to Essex at Cecil's request. It seems likely that *Richard III.*, which was revised, acted and published at the same time as *Richard II.*, was also presented during these antebellum festivities, and that the ensuing troubles of the Lord Chamberlain's company with the authorities were connected in some way with the performances of these plays. Essex and Southampton had scarcely sailed before the Lord Chamberlain's company was forced into the provinces by an official order closing the theatres. It was in this year that Shakespeare wrote the sonnet containing the line :

And art made tongue-tied by authority.

I do not wish to break into the continuity of the sonnet story by a full development of the political aspects of the plays of this period, but at a future time I hope to present my full theory and evidence regarding the Lord Chamber-

¹ *Domestic Correspondence*. Elizabeth (unarranged papers). Weymouth, July 6 (1597). No year date is given, but it plainly pertains to 1597. "I acquainted the Lord Generall with your letter to mee and your kynd acceptance of your enterteynement hee was wonderful merry at your consait of 'Richard the second' I hope it shall never alter and whereof I shall bee most glad of as the trew way to all our good quiett and advancement and most of all for Her sake whose affaires shall thereby find better progression." That this could not possibly have referred to the published play is evident in the fact that *Richard II.* was not entered upon the Stationers' Registers until August 1597.

lain's company's troubles with the authorities in this year, showing a link between these troubles and the presentation of *Richard II.* again, on the day before Essex's abortive outbreak in 1601.

Richard III., like *Hamlet* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, in its original form, was not written by Shakespeare, but was so often and so thoroughly revised that little is now left of the work of the original composer. Traces, however, remain which suggest its non-Shakespearean origin. It is difficult to believe that Shakespeare wrote the opening lines of Act I. Scene ii., spoken by Queen Anne; their monotonous rhythm is entirely unlike any of his acknowledged work. The lamentations of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Margaret in Act IV. Scene iv. are also utterly unlike any of Shakespeare's known work. The popularity of this Marlowesque play with the public led to its frequent revival and its consequent revisions and growth in bulk. With the exception of *Hamlet* it is the longest of all his plays. While it is probable that it was revised several times between the original date of its composition and the end of 1597, it is practically certain that it was carefully revised by Shakespeare in that year; but that the absence of his name from the title-page of the first Quarto was a printer's error—as is usually supposed—which was corrected within a few months by the issue of the second Quarto bearing his name I am inclined to doubt, and to believe that the first issues without Shakespeare's name were intentionally made in this form owing to the recent objections made to these plays upon the stage, and finding that the publications had passed unchallenged, that Shakespeare added his name to the new issues.

Critics are divided in regard to the comparative value

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of the Folio and the Quartos of *Richard III.* The Folio contains about two hundred lines that do not appear in the Quarto; a careful scrutiny of these with their contexts has convinced me that most of them are Shakespeare's early work, that they were intentionally deleted from the publication of the Quarto in 1597, and that this fact was overlooked or forgotten by the publishers of the Folio in 1623.

The Quartos of *Richard III.* contain one significant passage (Act iv. Scene ii., lines 103 to 120) not found in the Folio. This passage is clearly an addition to the play made at a late period of revision, and evidently at the last revision in 1597. It exhibits a dramatic subtlety of characterisation that plainly bespeaks a late date of composition. It is most unlikely that the publishers of the Folio would intentionally have eliminated such a characteristic passage had they possessed it. The absence of this effective passage from the Folio, and other considerations, lead me to conclude that the publishers of the Folio worked from Shakespeare's MS. of *Richard III.*, and that this passage was not a part of it, but was probably an addition appended on a separate sheet in 1597, which was lost in the interval between that date and 1623. There is no tangible reason to doubt that the Quartos of *Richard III.* of 1597 and 1598 were issued with Shakespeare's cognizance, and, consequently, that the play was revised at that period and shortly before its publication.

It is generally agreed that Shakespeare's adaptation of the old play of *The Taming of a Shrew* was made in or about 1597. The metrical tests imply at least a thorough revision at this date, though some features of the play seem to point to a date a few years earlier.

The most popular of Shakespeare's plays upon the

public boards during the sonnet years was manifestly the *First Part of Henry IV.* It is obvious that Shakespeare devoted more thought and time in composition and revision to this play than to any other produced at this period. While he based both parts of *Henry IV.* upon Holinshed's *Chronicles* and the old play of *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*, he owed little of his action and none of his characterisation to either source. I have indicated the original composition of the *First Part of Henry IV.* shortly after the production of *Richard II.* and *Love's Labour's Won*, and suggested the merging of the Parolles of the latter play into the Oldcastle of *Henry IV.*, both characters inferentially reflecting John Florio in his relations with Southampton, who is successively Bertram and Prince Hal.¹ The frequent contemporary references to the character of Falstaff as "Oldcastle," even after the change of name was made late in 1597, give evidence that *Henry IV.* had early won popularity upon the public boards, and that it must have held the stage at intervals for prolonged runs between the time of its probable first composition in 1593-4 and its final revision in 1598.

Plays that proved popular enough to outlive the regular number of performances of a new play, which, judging by Henslowe's records, was generally from ten to twelve, were sure to be revived, and some of them at frequent intervals, such revivals often indicating revisions also. This fact makes it difficult by textual evidence alone to set specific dates for the first production of many of Shakespeare's early plays, as nearly all of these plays were revised, and some of the more popular, such as *Richard III.* and *Henry IV., Part I.*, so frequently as to obscure their earliest form.

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London.* Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

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In *Henry IV., Part I.*, I find a number of indications which point to one fairly thorough revision as early as 1595, if indeed this was not the year of its original composition. This was the year in which Shakespeare first revised *Love's Labour's Lost* and introduced his caricatures of Chapman and Roydon in answer to the publication of *Willobie his Avis* and Chapman's attacks upon him in his dedications to Roydon at, and about, the same time. It appears evident that, recognising Florio's complicity with Chapman and Roydon at this time, Shakespeare also revised or wrote *Henry IV., Part I.*, as a reprisal upon Florio. In its present form, then, which includes the matter of its last revision made late in 1597, or early in 1598, this play, when considered subjectively, affords a general idea of the light in which Shakespeare viewed the developing relations between Florio and the Earl of Southampton between 1594 and the beginning of 1598; but the manner in which Florio's relations with the "dark lady" affected him personally at the end of this period is not reflected here, as in fact it could not very well have been without spoiling this play as a dramatic entity. To the *Second Part of Henry IV.* with the Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet episode, to *Troilus and Cressida* with the Pandarus and Cressida features, and to the final revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* showing the relations between Armado and Jaquenetta, and of *Love's Labour's Won* with the deteriorating Parolles, all of which work was begun in, and finished before the end of, 1598, he leaves the dramatic reflection of the later incidents of the sonnet story, that shall be shown to account for his deepening repugnance to Florio.

It thus appears that between, and including, the years 1595-7, Shakespeare's literary work consisted nearly

altogether in the revision of his own earlier work or the adaptation of old plays by other hands. The only play the composition of which, in its present form, may safely be dated during this period is *The Merchant of Venice*, though it has been inferred by Sir Sidney Lee that its original composition is indicated in 1594 on the assumption that Shylock reflects the Jew, Lopez, who was executed in this year for a plot to murder the Queen, and that the name Antonio is a reflection of Antonio Perez, Phillip of Spain's ex-Secretary of State, who was then in England and was incidentally connected with this case. Though all textual and internal evidence, and some external evidence, clearly indicate the composition of the present play in the autumn of 1597, it appears to me not improbable that the play existed in an earlier form, as in the case of *Romeo and Juliet* already noted, and that there is likelihood in Sir Sidney Lee's suggestion; though I fail quite to find in the present play the slightest reflection or trace of Marlowe's influence. I am of the opinion, however, that some of the plays were so thoroughly rewritten at later dates that no trace of their earlier existence remains except such a link with their past as Sir Sidney Lee suggests in this instance. In this suggestion I recognise Shakespeare's topical method, though no other trace of its earlier production now remains in the play.

The dearth of new work during these three years and a prevailing melancholy and inceptive pessimism, exhibited both in the group of sonnets and the one play produced towards the end of this period, were due to the unsatisfactory conditions of Shakespeare's relations with Southampton: the waning of his passion for the "dark lady," and a consequent remorse and developing moral

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consciousness in regard to the latter affair. The state of mind induced by these circumstances was aggravated by the death of his son, Hamnet, and by the continued attacks of his literary antagonists in 1596 ; and further augmented by the unsettled conditions of his professional work occasioned by the closing of the theatres in 1597, and the disfavour of the authorities stirred on by Cecil in this year.

The familiar intimacy of Shakespeare's relations with Southampton was probably interrupted late in 1594, or early in 1595, by the publication of *Willobie his Avisa*, which was issued within a short period of its entry on the Stationers' Registers in September 1594. Southampton, whose indifference towards Burghley's granddaughter had recently led to the severance of his engagement, and who was now endeavouring to win the Queen's consent to his marriage with Elizabeth Vernon, could ill afford the publication of a scandal linking his name with those of a player and of a tavernkeeper's wife under the conditions implied in the story. It is plain that Roydon's intention regarding Shakespeare was malicious, that his revelations were assisted by Chapman and Florio, and that the conspirators hoped to disrupt the friendship between the peer and the poet. Southampton apparently deemed it advisable, if for appearance sake only, to see less of Shakespeare for a time.

The death of Shakespeare's son, Hamnet, in September 1596, probably took him for a time to Stratford. After July 1597, owing to the closing of the theatres, his company made a provincial tour. The records show that they visited Faversham, Bath, Rye, Bristol, Dover and Marlborough in 1597. It is unlikely that Shakespeare accompanied

his company into the provinces at this time ; *Richard II.* being entered upon the Stationers' Registers in August, and *Richard III.* in October, both apparently having been revised carefully for publication. In this same year he purchased New Place in Stratford. I am inclined to the opinion that the publication of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* in 1597, and of *Henry IV.* and *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1598, were made largely for pecuniary reasons, and in order to add to his resources, which at this time were probably strained by the purchase of his Stratford property, and the diminution of receipts from his theatrical interests resulting from the closure of the London theatres.

The composition of *The Merchant of Venice* marks a renewal of Southampton's influence, which, in conjunction with evidence to follow, leads me to infer that this play was written between the 1st of October 1597, when Southampton returned from the Island Voyage, and the beginning of March 1598, when he left England with Sir Robert Cecil for the French Court. In the friendship of Antonio and Bassanio, Shakespeare shadows forth the spirit of his relations with Southampton. Antonio's melancholy, and his wistful and unselfish devotion to his self-absorbed friend, whose whole mind is now intent upon his plans for winning Portia, reproduce the phase of spiritual depression revealed on the part of our poet in the sixth *book* of sonnets, as well as Southampton's preoccupied interest in Elizabeth Vernon at this period.

During the autumn and winter of 1597-8 Southampton, lately returned from the storm and stress of the unprofitable but not altogether inglorious Island Voyage, though still on an equivocal footing at Court, was the hero of the hour to the London populace. His one action, in dispers-

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ing with a few small ships a vastly superior Spanish fleet and sinking one of their largest galleons, had saved the people's pride. The voyage, with its disasters and its triumphs, was evidently the prevailing topic of the London autumn. The story of Southampton's exploit was no doubt told many times in taverns and ordinaries by participants in the action. The numerous nautical allusions and descriptions in *The Merchant of Venice* give us evidence of Shakespeare's interest in the narrations.

SALAR. Your mind is tossing on the ocean ;
There, where your argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
Do overpeer the petty traffickers,
That curt'sy to them, do them reverence,
As they fly by them with their woven wings.

This seems reminiscent of the presumably often described contrast between the fleets, when "the Earl of Southampton with some three of the Queen's ships, and a few small merchant ships, . . . early on a morning by spring of day . . . lit upon the King of Spain's Indian fleet laden with treasure, being about four or five and thirty sail and most of them great warlike galleons." The description of the sinking of one of the largest of these galleons, and the destruction of its valuable cargo, was probably in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote :

SALAR. My wind, cooling my broth,
Would blow me to an ague, when I thought
What harm a wind too great at sea might do.
I should not see the sandy hourglass run,
But I should think of shallows and of flats,
And see my wealthy Andrew dock'd in sand
Vailing her high top lower than her ribs
To kiss her burial. Should I go to church

And see the holy edifice of stone,
 And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,
 Which touching but my gentle vessel's side
 Would scatter all her spices on the stream,
 Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks ;
 And, in a word, but even now worth this,
 And now worth nothing ?

In assigning the composition of *The Merchant of Venice* to the autumn of 1597, by the evidence here being advanced, I am merely adding new testimony for a date generally agreed upon by past critics, who have based their conclusions almost entirely upon metrical considerations. To whatever date the composition of this play belongs, the sixth *book* of sonnets palpably pertains to the same period. A consideration of the resemblances between *The Merchant of Venice* and this *book* of sonnets will serve to show the likelihood of their common composition at this time.

One peculiar parallel between the third sonnet in the sixth book and *The Merchant of Venice* arrested my attention long before I had succeeded in rearranging the Sonnets into their original sequences, which led me to infer that this one sonnet, at least, was written at about the same period as that of the composition of the play. Some lines from this sonnet, numbered 68 in Thorpe's order, read :

Thus is his cheek the map of days outworn,
 When beauty lived and died as flowers do now,
 Before these bastard signs of fair were born,
 Or durst inhabit on a living brow ;
 Before the golden tresses of the dead,
 The right of sepulchres, were shorn away,
 To live a second life on second head ;
 Ere beauty's dead fleece made another gay.

If these lines be compared with the following passage

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from *The Merchant of Venice*, palpable paraphrase will be seen :

So are those crisped snaky golden locks
Which make such wanton gambols with the wind,
Upon supposed fairness, often known
To be the dowry of a second head,
The skull that bred them in a sepulchre.

These allusions to the wearing of false hair seemed to me suggestive of some new knowledge or experience on the part of Shakespeare, and possibly reflecting some exaggerated phase of the fashion come lately into vogue. The recent discovery by Professor Wallace of the undoubted fact that Shakespeare lived from 1598 until 1604, and probably later, at the house of one Mountjoy, a French hair-dresser at the corner of Monkwell and Silver Streets in London, gives chronological value to these allusions. Professor Wallace's evidence makes it conclusive that Shakespeare was living with Mountjoy in 1598, and as late, or later, than 1604. We cannot judge from his evidence how long anterior to 1598 Shakespeare took up his abode there. I am of the opinion that the passages quoted were written at about the time that he went to live with Mountjoy and became cognizant for the first time, through his intimacy with the domestic and business affairs of this family, of the mysteries of the art of hairdressing and the uncanny sources of its supply.

It is exceedingly probable that Shakespeare took up his residence with Mountjoy some time towards the end of 1597. His theatrical company, which for several years had played at the Theatre in Shoreditch, was compelled to seek other quarters after July 1597, owing to an order of the authorities commanding the closing and dismantling of the Theatre as a playhouse. This action, though appar-

ently brought about by public petition, was evidently instigated by Giles Allen, the owner of the property, from whom James Burbage, the builder and owner of the Theatre, leased. Burbage's lease was drawn in 1576 for a period of twenty-one years, with the privilege of renewal by mutual agreement, and with the proviso that if he expended the sum of £200 in erecting buildings he should be at liberty, at the expiration of his lease, "to take down and carrie awaie to his own proper use all such buildings and other things that shall be builded, erected, or sett upp in, or upon, the saide grounds," etc. Within a year of the signing of this lease the Theatre was in operation, and as the period of the lease drew to its end the property had so enhanced in value that Giles Allen temporised regarding a renewal. He evidently served notice upon Burbage in 1596 that the lease would not be renewed, as Burbage in that year, anticipating its expiration, leased property in Blackfriars, which he at once set about transforming for theatrical purposes, though still negotiating with Allen for a renewal of the lease of the Shoreditch property. Before these negotiations could be concluded James Burbage died, leaving his property to his two sons, Cuthbert and Richard. Allen, though refusing to renew the lease, allowed the Burbages to remain as tenants, and accepted rent from them after its expiration, but probably instigated the opposition which resulted in the action of the authorities ordering the closing and dismantling of the Theatre; his intention being, by a legal quibble, to secure possession of the buildings, which had not been removed upon the expiration of the old lease. After July 1597 the Theatre was never used again for theatrical purposes. The buildings belonging to the Burbages were, however, forcibly removed by them in

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December 1598, and the material used in the construction of the Globe early in 1599. Giles Allen, who was absent from London when the removal of the buildings was effected, instituted legal proceedings for damages against the Burbages upon his return.

Where did Shakespeare's company conduct performances in London between July 1597 and the spring of 1599? There can be little doubt that they made use of the Blackfriars at this time. It was recently transformed by the Burbages for theatrical purposes, and was leased by them to Henry Evans, on 29th September 1600, for the uses of the Children of the Chapel.

Shakespeare's theatrical activities being transferred from Shoreditch to Blackfriars, it appears likely that, for convenience sake in getting to and from the scene of his labours, he would also change his place of residence at this time.

Certain critics have supposed that the Lord Chamberlain's company performed at the Curtain between the time they returned to London, late in 1597, and the beginning of their occupancy of the Globe Theatre in 1599; their only reasons being the fact that Marston in his *Scourge of Villanie*—published in September 1598—which refers to the performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, makes use of the generic term "curtain plaudities," which, they gratuitously assume, is meant to indicate the Curtain Theatre; and the fact that Henry Evans leased the Blackfriars on 29th September 1600, for twenty-one years, for the uses of the Children of the Chapel, and that in this lease the building is mentioned as being "then, or late," in the "tenure or occupation" of Evans. The Burbages were not theatrical capitalists in 1596-7, and in transforming the Blackfriars

property for theatrical purposes at this time they did so for their own uses, and not with the intention of investing money in a theatre for the uses of a company in which they had no interest. They would then naturally make use of the Blackfriars themselves between the end of 1597 and about the middle of 1599, when they moved into the new, and more commodious, Globe. *Henry V.* was performed in the Globe before Essex's return from Ireland in September 1599. Though Evans' twenty-one year lease was not signed until 29th September 1600, he evidently secured the occupancy of the Blackfriars under a temporary arrangement pending the execution of a lease, some time after the middle of 1599 and before 29th September 1600; this would account for the "then, or late" in the lease.

A critical examination of the sixth *book* of sonnets and of *The Merchant of Venice*, will reveal other suggestive parallels besides those already quoted, indicating a common period of composition. The fifteenth sonnet in this *book*, which is numbered 105 in Thorpe's order, reads as follows :

Let not my love be call'd idolatry,
 Nor my beloved as an idol show,
 Since all alike my songs and praises be
 To one, of one, still such and ever so.
 Kind is my love to-day, to-morrow kind,
 Still constant in a wondrous excellence;
 Therefore my verse to constancy confined,
 One thing expressing, leaves out difference.
 "*Fair, kind, and true*" is all my argument,
 "*Fair, kind, and true*," varying to other words;
 And in this change is my invention spent,
 Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.
 "*Fair, kind, and true*," have often lived alone,
 Which three till now never kept seat in one.

The words I have italicised in this sonnet seem to be

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re-echoed in the following lines from *The Merchant of Venice*:

And fair she is, if that mine eyes be true ;
And true she is, as she hath proved herself ;
And therefore like herself, *wise, fair, and true*,
Shall she be placed in my constant soul.

Again, let us compare the sentiment of the sixth and seventh sonnets of this *book* (numbered 22 and 62 by Thorpe) with Portia's reflections on Antonio in his relations with Bassanio.

SONNET XXII.

My glass shall not persuade me I am old,
So long as youth and thou are of one date ;
But when in thee time's furrows I behold,
Then look I death my days should expiate.
For all that beauty that doth cover thee
Is but the seemly raiment of my heart,
Which in thy breast doth live, as thine in me :
How can I then be elder than thou art ?
O, therefore, love, be of thyself so wary
As I, not for myself, but for thee will ;
Bearing thy heart, which I will keep so chary
As tender nurse her babe from faring ill.

Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain ;
Thou gavest me thine, not to give back again.

SONNET LXII.

Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye
And all my soul and all my every part ;
And for this sin there is no remedy,
It is so grounded inward in my heart.
Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,
No shape so true, no truth of such account ;
And for myself mine own worth do define,
As I all other in all worths surmount.
But when my glass shows me myself indeed,
Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,
Mine own self-love quite contrary I read ;
Self so self-loving were iniquity.

'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,
Painting my age with beauty of thy days.

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As Shakespeare here compares and couples himself with Southampton, so Portia in the following lines is made to give the same spiritual likeness to Bassanio and Antonio :

POR. . . . for in companions
That do converse and waste the time together,
Whose souls do bear an equal yoke of love,
There must be needs a like proportion
Of lineaments, of manners and of spirit ;
Which makes me think that this Antonio,
Being the bosom lover of my lord,
Must needs be like my lord.

The entire sixth *book* of sonnets reveals, on Shakespeare's part, the same spirit of dejection and melancholy exhibited in the character of Antonio.

ANT. I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano ;
A stage, where every man must play a part,
And mine a sad one.

ANT. I am a tainted wether of the flock,
Meetest for death : the weakest kind of fruit
Drops earliest to the ground ; and so let me :
You cannot better be employ'd, Bassanio,
Than to live still, and write mine epitaph.

We find the same ideas and an identical mood expressed in the following sonnets :

SONNET LXXI.

No longer mourn for me when I am dead
Than you shall hear the surly sullen bell
Give warning to the world that I am fled
From this vile world, with vilest worms to dwell :
Nay, if you read this line, remember not
The hand that writ it ; for I love you so,
That I in your sweet thoughts would be forgot,
If thinking on me then should make you woe.

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O, if, I say, you look upon this verse
When I perhaps compounded am with clay,
Do not so much as my poor name rehearse,
But let your love even with my life decay;
Lest the wise world should look into your moan,
And mock you with me after I am gone.

SONNET LXXII.

O, lest the world should task you to recite
What merit lived in me, that you should love
After my death, dear love, forget me quite,
For you in me can nothing worthy prove;
Unless you would devise some virtuous lie,
To do more for me than mine own desert,
And hang more praise upon deceased I
Than niggard truth would willingly impart:
O, lest your true love may seem false in this,
That you for love speak well of me untrue,
My name be buried where my body is,
And live no more to shame nor me nor you.
For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,
And so should you, to love things nothing worth.

The sixth *book* of sonnets, which follows this chapter, is incomplete, containing only eighteen sonnets. An apparent hiatus occurs between the fifth and sixth sonnets; it is likely that one or both of those missing were numbered here.

This *book* was evidently intended as Shakespeare's farewell to sonnet-writing. I place the verses containing only twelve lines, that are included in the Sonnets and numbered as the 126th in Thorpe's arrangement, as l'envoy to this sequence. They echo the tone of sadness and farewell that marks this entire group, and do not coincide with any of the other *books* in sense or spirit.

All of the ills that Shakespeare laments in the first sonnet of this sequence are to be found in the conditions of his life at this period.

SONNET I. Sixth book. Thorpe's LXVI.

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,
 As, to behold desert a beggar born,
 And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
 And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
 And gilded honour shamefully misplaced,
 And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
 And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
 And strength by limping sway disabled,
 And art made tongue-tied by authority,
 And folly, doctor-like, controlling skill,
 And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
 And captive good attending captain ill :
 Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,
 Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

His friends, Southampton and Essex, after the ardours of the Island Voyage are frowned on by the Court, while the time-serving Cecil climbs daily higher into royal favour. The theatres have been closed by authority. Southampton, deterred by the scandal concerning himself and Shakespeare, sees little of our poet, and probably at the same time renews his intimacy with Florio, who, within a few months, dedicates to him his *Worlde of Wordes*. Some early chapters of his translation of Montaigne's *Essays* are probably now being read by Southampton, and through him have come to Shakespeare's notice. It has been suggested that some lines in *The Merchant of Venice* appear to reflect Shakespeare's knowledge of a portion of the first book of Montaigne. Though Florio's translations were not published until 1603 Sir William Cornwallis mentions having seen the MSS. in 1599. It is probable that this book went the rounds of Florio's patrons and their friends, in MS., for a few years before its publication.

The spiritual despondency exhibited in the sixth book

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of sonnets, while aggravated by adverse temporal conditions, and by the rivalry of Florio for his patron's favour, was primarily due to the dawning of a moral sense in regard to his relations with the "dark lady." The exultant ideality with which, in its early stages, his imagination had transfigured his passion, had now passed away, and though his Cleopatra yet held him in her "strong toil of grace," his reason was awakening to a realisation of her abandoned unchastity, and his own mental and moral stultification. The following sonnets to the "dark lady," which refer to a period slightly earlier than this, display his knowledge of her unfaithfulness :

SONNET CXXXVII.

Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes,
That they behold, and see not what they see ?
They know what beauty is, see where it lies,
Yet what the best is take the worst to be.
If eyes, corrupt by over-partial looks,
Be anchor'd in the bay where all men ride,
Why of eyes' falsehood hast thou forged hooks,
Whereto the judgement of my heart is tied ?
Why should my heart think that a several plot
Which my heart knows the wide world's common place ?
Or mine eyes seeing this, say this is not,
To put fair truth upon so foul a face ?
 In things right true my heart and eyes have erred,
 And to this false plague are they now transferred.

SONNET CXLI.

In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes,
For they in thee a thousand errors note ;
But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
Who, in despite of view, is pleased to dote ;
Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted ;
Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone,
Nor taste, nor smell, desire to be invited
To any sensual feast with thee alone :

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But my five wits nor my five senses can
Dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee,
Who leaves unsway'd the likeness of a man,
Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be :
Only my plague thus far I count my gain,
That she that makes me sin awards me pain.

The underlying cause of the spiritual reaction evinced in the melancholy tone of the sixth *book* of sonnets, though hidden from his friend, and not yet fully analysed by himself, finds involuntary expression in the eleventh sonnet of the *book*.

SONNET XI. Sixth *book*. Thorpe's CXLVI.

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,
Starved by these rebel powers that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,
Painting thy outward walls so costly gay ?
Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend ?
Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge ? is this thy body's end ?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store ;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross ;
Within be fed, without be rich no more :
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

While this sonnet foreshadows his emancipation, a further perfidy on his mistress' part was yet to come to rouse his temper to the breaking point, and dissipate the mental lassitude evidenced in this whole sequence, which drags perfunctorily to a stilted and bathetic end.

The eighteenth sonnet (Thorpe 77), which plainly ends the sequence, to which it refers as "this book," makes it evident that in sending it to Southampton Shakespeare accompanied it by a gift, or gifts, of a dial, a looking-glass

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and writing tablets. This was apparently some trinket combining the three articles in one. All the evidence so far adduced indicates the end of 1597 as the date of composition of this *book*. It is then likely that the articles described in the eighteenth sonnet, and sent to Southampton accompanying this sequence, were intended as a Christmas gift in this year. The giving of presents at Christmas time seems to have been a matter of popular usage in the time of Elizabeth. That Southampton gave Shakespeare a gift of writing tablets either at this or the following Christmas will be shown in the seventh *book* of sonnets in a later chapter.

BOOK VI. Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,
Sonnet i. As, to behold desert a beggar born,

And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded honour shamefully misplaced,
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
(Thorpe And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
lxvi.) And strength by limping sway disabled,
And art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly, doctor-like, controlling skill,
And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
And captive good attending captain ill :

Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,
Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

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Book VI.
Sonnet ii.

Ah, wherefore with infection should he live
And with his presence grace impiety,
That sin by him advantage should achieve
And lace itself with his society ?
Why should false painting imitate his cheek,
And steal dead seeing of his living hue ?

(Thorpe
lxvii.)

Why should poor beauty indirectly seek
Roses of shadow, since his rose is true ?
Why should he live, now Nature bankrupt is,
Beggar'd of blood to blush through lively veins ?
For she hath no exchequer now but his,
And, proud of many, lives upon his gains.

O, him she stores, to show what wealth she had
In days long since, before these last so bad.

Book VI.
Sonnet iii.

Thus is his cheek the map of days outworn,
When beauty lived and died as flowers do now,
Before these bastard signs of fair were born,
Or durst inhabit on a living brow ;
Before the golden tresses of the dead,
The right of sepulchres, were shorn away,
To live a second life on second head ;
Ere beauty's dead fleece made another gay :
In him those holy antique hours are seen,
Without all ornament itself and true,
Making no summer of another's green,
Robbing no old to dress his beauty new ;

(Thorpe
lxviii.)

And him as for a map doth Nature store,
To show false Art what beauty was of yore.

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BOOK VI. If there be nothing new, but that which is
 Sonnet iv. Hath been before, how are our brains beguiled,
 Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
 The second burthen of a former child !
 O, that record could with a backward look,
 Even of five hundred courses of the sun,
 (Thorpe Show me your image in some antique book,
 lix.) Since mind at first in character was done.
 That I might see what the old world could say
 To this composed wonder of your frame ;
 Whether we are mended, or whether better they,
 Or whether revolution be the same.
 O, sure I am, the wits of former days
 To subjects worse have given admiring praise

BOOK VI. Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore,
 Sonnet v. So do our minutes hasten to their end ;
 Each changing place with that which goes before,
 In sequent toil all forwards do contend.
 Nativity, once in the main of light,
 Crawls to maturity, wherewith being crown'd,
 (Thorpe Crooked eclipses 'gainst his glory fight,
 lix.) And Time that gave doth now his gift confound.
 Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth
 And delves the parallels in beauty's brow,
 Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth,
 And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow :
 And yet to times in hope my verse shall stand,
 Praising thy worth, despite his cruel hand.

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BOOK VI. My glass shall not persuade me I am old,
Sonnet vi. So long as youth and thou are of one date ;

But when in thee time's furrows I behold,
Then look I death my days should expiate.

For all that beauty that doth cover thee

Is but the seemly raiment of my heart,

(Thorpe Which in thy breast doth live, as thine in me :

xxii.) How can I then be elder than thou art ?

O, therefore, love, be of thyself so wary

As I, not for myself, but for thee will ;

Bearing thy heart, which I will keep so chary

As tender nurse her babe from faring ill.

Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain ;

Thou gavest me thine, not to give back again.

BOOK VI. Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye

Sonnet vii. And all my soul and all my every part ;

And for this sin there is no remedy,

It is so grounded inward in my heart.

Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,

No shape so true, no truth of such account ;

(Thorpe And for myself mine own worth do define,

lxii.) As I all other in all worths surmount.

But when my glass shows me myself indeed,

Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,

Mine own self-love quite contrary I read ;

Self so self-loving were iniquity.

'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise

Painting my age with beauty of thy days.

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BOOK VI. Against my love shall be, as I am now,
 Sonnet With Time's injurious hand crush'd and o'erworn ;
 viii. When hours have drain'd his blood and fill'd his brow
 With lines and wrinkles ; when his youthful morn
 Hath travell'd on to age's steepy night,
 And all those beauties whereof now he's king
 (Thorpe Are vanishing or vanish'd out of sight,
 lxiii.) Stealing away the treasure of his spring ;
 For such a time do I now fortify
 Against confounding age's cruel knife,
 That he shall never cut from memory
 My sweet love's beauty, though my lover's life :
 His beauty shall in these black lines be seen,
 And they shall live, and he in them still green.

BOOK VI. That time of year thou mayst in me behold
 Sonnet ix. When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
 Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
 Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.
 In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
 As after sunset fadeth in the west ;
 (Thorpe Which by and by black night doth take away,
 lxxiii.) Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.
 In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
 That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
 As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
 Consumed with that which it was nourish'd by.
 This thou perceivest, which makes thy love more
 strong,
 To love that well which thou must leave ere long.

BOOK VI. But be contented : when that fell arrest

Sonnet x.

Without all bail shall carry me away,
My life hath in this line some interest,
Which for memorial still with thee shall stay.
When thou reviewest this, thou dost review
The very part was consecrate to thee :

(Thorpe
lxxiv.)

The earth can have but earth, which is his due ;
My spirit is thine, the better part of me :
So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,
The prey of worms, my body being dead ;
The coward conquest of a wretch's knife,
Too base of thee to be remembered.

The worth of that is that which it contains,
And that is this, and this with thee remains.

BOOK VI. Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,

Sonnet xi.

Starved by these rebel powers that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,
Painting thy outward walls so costly gay ?
Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend ?

Thorpe
cxlvi.)

Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge ? is this thy body's end ?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store ;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross ;
Within be fed, without be rich no more :

So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

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Book VI. No longer mourn for me when I am dead
 Sonnet xii. Than you shall hear the surly sullen bell
 Give warning to the world that I am fled
 From this vile world, with vilest worms to dwell :
 Nay, if you read this line, remember not
 The hand that writ it ; for I love you so,
 (Thorpe That I in your sweet thoughts would be forgot,
 lxxi.) If thinking on me then should make you woe.
 O, if, I say, you look upon this verse
 When I perhaps compounded am with clay,
 Do not so much as my poor name rehearse,
 But let your love even with my life decay ;
 Lest the wise world should look into your moan,
 And mock you with me after I am gone.

Book VI. O, lest the world should task you to recite
 Sonnet What merit lived in me, that you should love
 xiii. After my death, dear love, forget me quite,
 For you in me can nothing worthy prove ;
 Unless you would devise some virtuous lie,
 To do more for me than mine own desert,
 (Thorpe And hang more praise upon deceased I
 lxii.) Than niggard truth would willingly impart :
 O, lest your true love may seem false in this,
 That you for love speak well of me untrue,
 My name be buried where my body is,
 And live no more to shame nor me nor you.
 For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,
 And so should you, to love things nothing worth.

BOOK VI. Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
 Sonnet So far from variation or quick change ?
 xiv. Why with the time do I not glance aside
 To new-found methods and to compounds strange ?
 Why write I still all one, ever the same,
 And keep invention in a noted weed,

(Thorpe That every word doth almost tell my name,
 lxxvi.) Showing their birth and where they did proceed ?
 O, know, sweet love, I always write of you,
 And you and love are still my argument ;
 So all my best is dressing old words new,
 Spending again what is already spent :
 For as the sun is daily new and old,
 So is my love still telling what is told.

BOOK VI. Let not my love be call'd idolatry,
 Sonnet Nor my beloved as an idol show,
 Since all alike my songs and praises be
 To one, of one, still such, and ever so.
 Kind is my love to-day, to-morrow kind,
 Still constant in a wondrous excellence ;
 (Thorpe Therefore my verse to constancy confined,
 cv.) One thing expressing, leaves out difference.
 " Fair, kind, and true," is all my argument,
 " Fair, kind, and true," varying to other words ;
 And in this change is my invention spent,
 Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.
 " Fair, kind, and true," have often lived alone,
 Which three till now never kept seat in one.

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BOOK VI. As an unperfect actor on the stage,
 Sonnet
 xvi. Who with his fear is put besides his part,
 Or some fierce thing replete with too much rage,
 Whose strength's abundance weakens his own heart ;
 So I, for fear of trust, forget to say
 The perfect ceremony of love's rite,
 And in mine own love's strength seem to decay,
 (Thorpe
 xxiii.) O'ercharged with burthen of mine own love's might.
 O, let my books be then the eloquence
 And dumb presagers of my speaking breast ;
 Who plead for love, and look for recompense,
 More than that tongue that more hath more express'd.
 O, learn to read what silent love hath writ :
 To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit.

BOOK VI. Alack, what poverty my Muse brings forth,
 Sonnet
 xvii. That having such a scope to show her pride,
 The argument, all bare, is of more worth
 Than when it hath my added praise beside !
 O, blame me not, if I no more can write !
 Look in your glass, and there appears a face
 (Thorpe
 ciii.) That over-goes my blunt invention quite,
 Dulling my lines and doing me disgrace.
 Were it not sinful then, striving to mend,
 To mar the subject that before was well ?
 For to no other pass my verses tend
 Than of your graces and your gifts to tell ;
 And more, much more, than in my verse can sit,
 Your own glass shows you when you look in it.

BOOK VI. Thy glass will show thee how thy beauties wear,
 Sonnet Thy dial how thy precious minutes waste ;
 xviii. The vacant leaves thy mind's imprint will bear,
 And of this book this learning mayst thou taste.
 The wrinkles which thy glass will truly show
 Of mouthed graves will give thee memory ;
 (Thorpe Thou by thy dial's shady stealth mayst know
 lxxvii.) Time's thievish progress to eternity.
 Look, what thy memory cannot contain
 Commit to these waste blanks, and thou shalt find
 Those children nursed, deliver'd from thy brain
 To take a new acquaintance of thy mind.
 These offices, so oft as thou wilt look,
 Shall profit thee and much enrich thy book.

BOOK VI. O thou, my lovely boy, who in thy power
 L'Envoi Dost hold Time's fickle glass, his sickle, hour ;
 Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st
 Thy lovers withering as thy sweet self grow'st ;
 If Nature, sovereign mistress over wrack,
 (Thorpe As thou goest onwards, still will pluck thee back,
 cxxvi.) She keeps thee to this purpose, that her skill
 May time disgrace and wretched minutes kill.
 Yet fear her, O thou minion of her pleasure !
 She may detain, but not still keep, her treasure :
 Her audit, though delay'd, answer'd must be
 And her quietus is to render thee.

CHAPTER XIV

A LOVER'S COMPLAINT—A REFLECTION OF SOUTHAMPTON'S RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH VERNON IN 1598

IN 1598 a crisis arrived in Southampton's relations with Elizabeth Vernon, and in Shakespeare's relations with the "dark lady." In Southampton's case a secret marriage was necessary, and in Shakespeare's it is evident that the inevitable disruption of his relations with his unstable mistress took place.

In this year also a particularly heated stage was reached in the literary warfare between Shakespeare and his learned antagonists, whose numbers were augmented towards the close of the year by the adhesion of John Marston, who at this time commenced to collaborate with George Chapman in dramatic work. John Florio published his *Worlde of Wordes*, and dedicated it to the Earl of Southampton in this year, attacking Shakespeare in a prefatory address;¹ and George Chapman published seven books of *Homer's Iliad*, which he dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was composed or revised, and without doubt acted also, shortly following the publication of the *Iliad* by Chapman. It was produced at this time by Shakespeare as a satire upon Chapman's work and was at once recognised in this light by Chapman, who within

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

a brief period published a single book of the *Iliad* (the 18th), to which he gave the defensive title of *Achilles' Shield*. In *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare debases the character of Achilles and impugns the motives of his inaction at a crucial period of the war, depicting him as sulking in his tent from wounded vanity and also as involved in an intrigue with one of Priam's daughters. In *Achilles' Shield* Chapman defends the character of Achilles, and explains his inaction by showing that he was commanded by Thetis to abstain from war until she had obtained fit arms for him from Vulcan. *Troilus and Cressida* was evidently again revised in or about 1602, upon a renewal of hostilities between the dramatic factions headed by Shakespeare and Chapman, and was finally revised, enlarged and published, with its notable preface claiming it to be a new play, in 1609, in answer to a later attack of Chapman and his clique, who in a new endeavour to revive the Davenant scandal had again published *Willobie his Avis* and also brought about the publication of the Sonnets. This, however, anticipates the evidence for the unfolding narrative.

I cannot better exhibit the peculiar conditions of Shakespeare's relations with Southampton in 1598 and account for his troubled and depressed state of mind during his friend's absence from England, than by giving in chronological order extracts from the letters of the time referring to Southampton and marking the development of his misfortunes. Rowland Whyte, to whose letters we owe much of our light upon the Court life of his times, was Sir Robert Sidney's English agent, who managed Sidney's English affairs during his absence in his capacity of Governor of Flushing. He, like his master, Sir Robert Sidney, while too discreet to become entangled in the meshes being

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woven by Sir Robert Cecil for Essex and his faction, was, with his master, sympathetic with Essex and friendly to Southampton. John Chamberlain and his correspondent, Dudley Carleton, whose letters are also quoted, while evidently not strongly partisan, were if anything anti-pathetic to the Essex faction. This difference in spirit is traceable in the tone of the letters relating to Southampton.

In January 1598, Southampton applied for licence to travel abroad, which was granted early in February. While his application was under consideration a scandal developed at Court regarding his relations with Elizabeth Vernon. It is evident that Ambrose Willoughby, one of the Court attendants, in some way became cognizant of their relations and interfering, in his capacity of squire of the body, called down on his head the wrath of Southampton. Their subsequent quarrels becoming known and arousing curiosity, in order to hide the real facts, a story was invented imputing the origin of the ill-feeling between Willoughby and Southampton to the officious interference of the former with Southampton and others in a game of cards. I will allow the following extracts from contemporary letters to develop the story :

January 14th, 1598. Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney.—“ I heare my Lord Southampton goes with Mr. Secretary to France and so onwards on his travels, which course doth extremely grieve his mistress that passes her tyme in weeping and lamenting.”

January 19th, 1598. The same to the same.—“ I heard of some unkindnes should be between the Earl of Southampton and his mistress occasioned by some report of Ambrose Willoughby, the Earl of Southampton called him to account for it but the matter was made known to

my Lord Essex and my Lord Chamberlain who had them in examination ; what the cause is I cannot learn for it was new but I see my Lord Southampton full of discontentments."

January 21st, 1598. The same to the same.—" The quarrel of my Lord Southampton with Ambrose Willoughby grew upon this that he with Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Parker being at primero in the presence Chamber, the Queen was gone to bed ; and he being there as squire of the body desired them to give over, soon after he spake to them again that if they would not leave he would call in the guard to pull down the board, which Sir Walter Raleigh seeing put up his moneyes and went his wayes. My Lord Southampton took exceptions at him and told him he would remember it ; and so fynding hym between the tennis court wall and the garden strooke hym and Willoughby pulled off some of his lockes. The Queen gave Willoughby thanks for what he did in the presence and told hym he had done better if he had sent hym to the porter's lodge to see who durst have fetcht hym out."

The last words in this letter " to see who durst have fetcht hym out " undoubtedly refer to Essex, and display on the part of the Queen a nursed and growing irritation against her favourite, which was tacitly but seduously fed by Sir Robert Cecil and his partisans.

All pictures of Southampton show him with long curling brown locks. This fashion of wearing the hair was then growing into vogue amongst the younger nobility ; Southampton seems to have been one of the earliest of the courtiers to adopt the fashion and to have carried it to an extreme.

January 28th, 1598. Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert

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Sidney.—“ My Lord Southampton is now at Court who for a while did absent hymself by her Majesties command.”

January 30th, 1598. The same to the same.—“ My Lord Compton, my Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh and my Lord Southampton do severally feast Mr. Secretary before he depart and have plaies and banquets.”

February 1st, 1598. The same to the same.—“ My Lord Southampton is much troubled at her Majesties strangest usage of hym, somebody hath played unfriendly parts with hym. Mr. Secretary hath procured hym licence to travel, his faire mistress doth wash her fairest face with too many tears, I pray God his going away bring her to no such infirmity which is as it were hereditary to her race.”

February 2nd, 1598. The same to the same.—“ It is secretly said that my Lord Southampton shall be married to his faire mistress.”

February 11th, 1598. The same to the same.—“ My Lord Southampton is gone with Mr. Secretary.”

February 12th, 1598. The same to the same.—“ My Lord Southampton is gone and hath left behind hym a very desolate gentlewoman that hath almost wept out her fairest eyes. He was at Essex House with the Earl of Essex and there was much private talk with hym for two hours in the court below.”

On the 21st of March, Cecil presented Southampton to Henry of Navarre, with the assurance that he had come with deliberation to do him service. Shortly after Southampton's arrival at the French camp, an armistice was agreed upon pending the preparation of a treaty of peace, which was ratified at Vervins toward the end of the year.

In June 1598, Southampton in a letter to the Earl of Essex tells him he proposes to continue his travels, and

promises to keep him informed of his movements. He writes :

“ Before I stir from hence you will know what way I mean to take.”

On 15th July, however, he is still in Paris ; on that date Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English Ambassador at the French Court, writing to Sir Robert Sidney, who was then in England, says :

“ I send your Lordship a letter and certain songs which were delivered to me by my Lord Southampton to convey to your Lordship from Cavelas. His Lordship commendeth himself most kindly to you and would have written to you if it had not been for a little slothfulness.”

It is not unlikely that the “ songs ” mentioned in this letter were poems of Shakespeare’s ; possibly the sixth *book* of sonnets, which was written shortly before Southampton left England.

It is extremely likely that *A Lover's Complaint*, which was published by Thorpe with the Sonnets, was written at this period. I have shown that *Venus and Adonis* was written at about the same time and with the same object as the first *book* of sonnets, *i.e.*, in the endeavour to turn Southampton’s mind to the proposed marriage to Elizabeth Vere, and that *Lucrece* and the third *book* of sonnets are identical in date and intention. If *A Lover's Complaint* be read carefully and the circumstances of the lovers considered and the description of the recreant lover borne in mind, it will be found to describe Southampton exactly as he is elsewhere described and as we find him in life, and also to tell the actual story here being developed in his

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own letters and those of his friends relating to him. A comparison of *A Lover's Complaint* with *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, displays in the former poem a greater literary maturity on the part of Shakespeare ; while a comparison with the plays shows a distinct verbal and spiritual analogy with those which may be imputed to the years 1598-9. This poem was probably written for and sent to Southampton at this period, and may possibly be the "certain songs" mentioned in Sir Thomas Edmondes' letter to Sir Robert Sidney.

During his sojourn in Paris, Southampton renewed his intimacy with Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers, whom he had assisted in their flight to France after the fight with the Long brothers in which Sir Henry Long was killed, in 1594. Both Cecil and Essex and other friends of the Danvers had for some time been insistent in their endeavours to secure the Queen's pardon. A composition of the matter was finally arranged with the Longs, and the Queen's pardon secured, on condition that they pay to the Longs the sum of £1500. On 11th July Sir Charles Danvers wrote Cecil thanking him for his influence, and informing him that he had delivered his commendations to the Earl of Southampton. A month later Sir Henry Danvers left Paris for England, bearing with him the following letter from Southampton to Cecil :

" Though I have very little matter of business to write of yet can I not see this bearer depart without a letter unto you though it be but only to report of me whom you have given cause in the best kind ever to remember you and to acknowledge the debt in which by your many favours I am bound unto you for the return of him and his brother. I cannot but rejoice though in respect of myself I find more

reason to mourn the loss of so pleasing companions but such is my affection to them as I do prefer their good before the satisfaction of myself. If it had not been for their departure I should have ere this time written you out of Italy but now by means of that my journey is stayed until I hear out of England for if after the despatch of his business there I may not have the company of the younger, my voyage will be infinitely unpleasing unto me being to pass into a country of which I am utterly ignorant without any companion. I cannot here imagine what may hinder him but if any let should happen I beseech you if you can remove it for I confess it will be an exceeding maim unto me if I miss him. Paris, August 20th, 1598."

It is evident that this letter was a blind, and that Southampton accompanied the Danvers back to England. The following letter, written by Southampton to Essex upon his secret return to England, is undated, but the preceding letter, which is dated from Paris on 20th August, and a later letter of John Chamberlain's to Dudley Carleton (recording Southampton's recent secret visit to England), which is dated 30th August, proves the date of this letter some time between about the 23rd and the 27th of August 1598:

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Essex. London (August 23-27 ?).—"The chief cause of my coming to town is to speak to your lordship. If you will be therefore pleased to give me assignation of time and place where I may attend you to find you alone so that I may come unknown I will not fail to perform your appointment. I beseech you to let me know your will by this bearer either by letter or word of mouth and bind me so much unto you as not to take notice of my being here to any creature till I have seen you."

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The appointment was kept, and arrangements perfected for a secret marriage to Elizabeth Vernon, who was then at Essex House. The following letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton shows that the matter was common knowledge within a few days :

August 30th, 1598.—“ Mistress Vernon is from Court and lies in Essex House ; some say she has taken a venue under her girdle and swells upon it, yet she complains not of foul play but says that the Earl of Southampton will justify it ; it is bruited abroad underhand that he was lately here four days in great secret of purpose to marry her and affected it accordingly.”

It is plain that Southampton had returned to Paris before this letter was written.

On 19th September Southampton writes from Paris to Essex, informing him that he has written Sir Robert Cecil confessing his return to England and his marriage :

“ I have by your messenger sent a letter to Mr. Secretary wherein I have discovered unto him my marriage with your Lordship's cousin withal desiring him to find the means to acquaint her Majesty therewith in such sort as may least offend and (if I may be so happy) to procure of her a favourable toleration of that which is past, which obtained, I shall count myself sufficiently fortunate for I assure you only the fear of bearing her Majesty's displeasure is more grievous unto me than any torment I could think of could be. I trust therefore as my offence is but small so her anger will not be much, so consequently it will not be very difficult to get my pardon. To your Lordship's best endeavour I shall leave all assuring myself that you will be pleased to favour me as one who will be ever ready to do you service and always remaining your poor cousin to be commanded. Paris, September 19th, 1598.”

Several days before the foregoing was written and before Southampton's letter to Cecil could have reached him, the Queen and Court were fully aware of what had taken place. The following letter was written by Secretary Cecil to Southampton on 3rd September 1598 :

" I am grieved to use the style of a councillor to you to whom I have ever rather wished to be the messenger of honour and favour, by laying her Majesty's command upon you. But I must now put this gall into my ink that she knows that you came over very lately and returned again very contemptuously, that you have also married one of her maids of honour without her privity for which with other circumstances informed against you, I find her grievously offended and she commands me to charge you expressly, all excuses set apart to repair hither to London and advertise your arrival without coming to the Court until her pleasure be known."

On 7th September John Chamberlain writes to Dudley Carleton as follows :

" Yesterday the Queen was informed of the new Lady of Southampton and her adventures whereat her patience was so much moved that she came not to the Chapel. She threatens them all to the tower not only the parties but all who are partakers of the practice. It is confirmed the Earl was lately here and solemnized the act himself. Sir Thomas Germain accompanied him on his return to Margate. I now understand that the Queen has ordered that there shall be prepared for the new Countess the sweetest and best appointed lodging in the Fleet. Her Lord is by command to return upon his allegiance with all speed."

Upon the receipt of Secretary Cecil's letter commanding

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him to return, Southampton wrote to Essex on 22nd September as follows :

" Since I last wrote I have received a letter by this bearer from Mr. Secretary which doth signify her Majesty's heavy displeasure conceived against me and withal lays a charge upon me in her name to make my present repair to London, which news as it came unexpected so I assure your Lordship it was nothing welcome. Her anger is most grievous unto me but my hope is that time (the nature of my offence being rightly considered) will restore me to her wonted good opinion ; but my so sudden return is a kind of punishment which I imagine her Majesty's will is not to lay upon me because when I am returned I protest unto your Lordship I scarce know what course to take to live, having at my departure let to farm the poor estate I had left for the satisfying of my creditors and payment of those debts which I came to owe by following her Court and have reserved only such a portion as will maintain myself and a very small train in the time of my travel. I assure you I bespeak not this in hope by differing to lighten any part of my punishment for to satisfy her Majesties displeasure. I will willingly suffer myself to endure whatsoever she shall be pleased to inflict but I would only crave so much favour as to abide it in such a time when the satisfying of my offence should be all the hurt I should receive. I beseech you therefore make me bound unto you in letting me learn from you as soon as may be, whereby I may know how to direct my course for according as you shall think fit I will not fail to do and for the excuse I have already made, I assure myself it is such no man can take exception unto. Paris, September 22, 1598."

About a week earlier than this, Southampton wrote in the same strain to Cecil :

" I have received a letter by the post in your name

charging me as from her Majesty to repair to London, which being unable to perform I beseech you to satisfy her that no man lives who will with more duty receive her commands though now I am forced to break this for this reason. I have stayed here sometime only to attend to the receipt of some money which was to be made over to me to carry me further, that received will if the Queen desires it serve to bring me back to England but till then I have no means to hie from hence. This is unfeignedly true. Paris, September 15, 1598."

Upon 16th October Southampton wrote to Cecil from Rouen advising him of his homecoming, but does not seem to have left France till the beginning of November. On 2nd November Sir Thomas Edmondes writes from Paris to Sir Robert Sidney, who was in England :

"My Lord Southampton that now goeth over can inform your Lordship at large of the state of all things here," etc.

On 8th November John Chamberlain reports to Dudley Carleton :

"The new Countess of Southampton is brought to bed of a daughter and to mend her portion the Earl her father hath lately lost 1800 crowns at tennis in Paris."

On 16th November 1598, Chamberlain wrote :

"The Earl of Southampton is come home and for his welcome is committed to the Fleet but I hear he is already upon his delivery."

Within a few days of the date of the previous letter Southampton was liberated from the Fleet, but was interdicted from appearing at Court, an inhibition which in his case was never revoked by Elizabeth. From the time

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that he severed his engagement with Elizabeth Vere late in 1593 or early in 1594, Southampton never appears to have been looked upon with favour by Elizabeth. Her unfriendly attitude towards him was due to his own indifference; a certain characteristic dignity of manner and independence of mind made obsequiousness impossible to him. Staged by Burghley upon his first coming to Court for the rôle of Court favourite as rival to Essex, this spirited youth, with high ideals and normal tastes, revolted naturally from playing the part of half lover and half courtier to a Queen old enough to be his grandmother. The impulsive generosity and native sensibility that enabled him of all the men of his time to recognise and appreciate the intrinsic greatness of Shakespeare, and that in turn inspired in Shakespeare such genuine affection and admiration, were qualities little calculated to win political preferment at the Court of Elizabeth. While Raleigh, Cecil, Essex and others of the courtiers addressed the Queen or wrote of her (in letters that were likely to reach her eye) in terms of the most abject personal adoration and extravagant flattery, Southampton always eschews a personal note and never descends to flattery, while yet respectfully dignified in his expressions of service and loyalty. That a certain degree of aloofness had arisen between the Queen and Southampton before he had aroused her resentment by his marriage to Elizabeth Vernon, is shown in the postscript to a letter written by him to Cecil in July 1597, while he was upon the "Island Voyage":

"*P.S.*—Though my fortune was never so good as to enjoy any favour from her Majesty that might make me desire to stay in her Court, yet should I account myself infinitely unhappy if with the loss of serving her I should

likewise lose her good conceit of me wherefore I pray you to study to preserve that and I will direct the whole course of my life to do her service."

Being debarred from attendance at Court between the time of his release from the Fleet in November 1598, and his departure for the Irish wars in March 1599, Southampton again resumed more intimate relations with Shakespeare. It was at this period that Shakespeare finally secured his grant of Arms, and evidently through Southampton's influence with Essex, who was now chief of the College of Heralds. I shall leave a consideration of Southampton's influence upon Shakespeare's dramatic work at and shortly following this period to a later chapter, and shall follow the present chapter with *A Lover's Complaint*, which palpably reflects phases of Southampton's life in 1598.

In the character of the herdsman who listens to the maiden's tale, Shakespeare figuratively describes himself in much the same moralising strain as at a slightly later period he again impersonates himself in the character of Jaques in *As You Like It*:

For thou thyself hast been a libertine
As sensual as the brutish sting itself.

In *A Lover's Complaint*, in the same remorseful spirit, he reflects himself as

A reverend man that grazed his cattle nigh—
Sometime a blusterer, that the ruffle knew
Of Court, of city, and had let go by
The swiftest hours neglected as they flew.

In the description of the deserted maiden and her woes he reflects Elizabeth Vernon and her troubles, and at the same time, in the character and situation he conjures up, foreshadows the state and personality of Ophelia. If this character and the descriptions of the first eight verses be

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compared with the part of Ophelia, the resemblance is very plain.

The delineation of the recreant lover in the 13th to the 16th verses palpably depicts Southampton's personal appearance and character.¹

A LOVER'S COMPLAINT

I

From off a hill whose concave womb re-worded
A plaintful story from a sistering vale,
My spirits to attend this double voice accorded,
And down I laid to list the sad-tuned tale ;
Ere long espied a fickle maid full pale,
Tearing of papers, breaking rings a-twain,
Storming her world with sorrow's wind and rain.

2

Upon her head a platted hive of straw,
Which fortified her visage from the sun,
Whereon the thought might think sometime it saw
The carcass of a beauty spent and done :
Time had not scythed all that youth begun,
Nor youth all quit ; but, spite of heaven's fell rage,
Some beauty peep'd through lattice of sear'd age.

3

Oft did she heave her napkin to her eyne,
Which on it had conceited characters,
Laundering the silken figures in the brine
That season'd woe had pelleted in tears,
And often reading what contents it bears ;
As often shrieking undistinguish'd woe,
In clamours of all size, both high and low.

¹ Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., in *Shakespeare and Chapman* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1917), claims *A Lover's Complaint* for Chapman, between whom and Shakespeare, he writes, "there is evidence of a prolonged theatrical relation which once realised excludes the possibility of that extremity of ill-will which Mr. Acheson imputes to both." I leave to the judgment of the reader the evidence advanced there and here.

4

Sometimes her levell'd eyes their carriage ride,
As they did battery to the spheres intend ;
Sometime diverted their poor balls are tied
To the orb'd earth ; sometimes they do extend
Their view right on ; anon their gazes lend
To every place at once, and nowhere fix'd
The mind and sight distractedly commix'd.

5

Her hair, nor loose nor tied in formal plat,
Proclaim'd in her a careless hand of pride ;
For some, untuck'd, descended her sheaved hat,
Hanging her pale and pined cheek beside ;
Some in her threaden fillet still did bide,
And, true to bondage, would not break from thence,
Though slackly braided in loose negligence.

6

A thousand favours from a maund she drew
Of amber, crystal, and of beaded jet,
Which one by one she in a river threw,
Upon whose weeping margent she was set ;
Like usury, applying wet to wet,
Or monarch's hands that lets not bounty fall
Where want cries some, but where excess begs all.

7

Of folded schedules had she many a one,
Which she perused, sigh'd, tore, and gave the flood ;
Crack'd many a ring of posied gold and bone,
Bidding them find their sepulchres in mud ;
Found yet moe letters sadly penn'd in blood,
With sleided silk feat and affectedly
Enswathed, and seal'd to curious secrecy.

8

These often bathed she in her fluxive eyes,
And often kiss'd, and often 'gan to tear ;
Cried " O false blood, thou register of lies,
What unapproved witness dost thou bear !
Ink would have seem'd more black and damned here ! "
This said, in top of rage the lines she rents,
Big discontent so breaking their contents.

9

A reverend man that grazed his cattle nigh—
 Sometime a blusterer, that the ruffle knew
 Of Court, of city, and had let go by
 The swiftest hours, observed as they flew—
 Towards this afflicted fancy fastly drew ;
 And, privileged by age, desires to know
 In brief the grounds and motives of her woe.

10

So slides he down upon his grained bat,
 And comely-distant sits he by her side ;
 When he again desires her, being sat,
 Her grievance with his hearing to divide :
 If that from him there may be aught applied
 Which may her suffering ecstasy assuage,
 'Tis promised in the charity of age.

11

"Father," she says, "though in me you behold
 The injury of many a blasting hour,
 Let it not tell your judgement I am old ;
 Not age, but sorrow, over me hath power :
 I might as yet have been a spreading flower,
 Fresh to myself, if I had self-applied
 Love to myself, and to no love beside.

12

"But, woe is me ! too early I attended
 A youthful suit—it was to gain my grace—
 Of one by nature's outwards so commended,
 That maidens' eyes stuck over all his face :
 Love lack'd a dwelling and made him her place ;
 And when in his fair parts she did abide,
 She was new lodged and newly deified.

13

"His brownny locks did hang in crooked curls ;
 And every light occasion of the wind
 Upon his lips their silken parcels hurls.
 What's sweet to do, to do will aptly find :
 Each eye that saw him did enchant the mind ;
 For on his visage was in little drawn
 What largeness thinks in Paradise was sawn.

14

"Small show of man was yet upon his chin ;
His phoenix down began but to appear,
Like unshorn velvet, on that termless skin,
Whose bare out-bragg'd the web it seem'd to wear :
Yet show'd his visage by that cost more dear ;
And nice affections wavering stood in doubt
If best were as it was, or best without.

15

"His qualities were beauteous as his form,
For maiden-tongued he was, and thereof free ;
Yet, if men moved him, was he such a storm
As oft 'twixt May and April is to see,
When winds breathe sweet, unruly though they be.
His rudeness so with his authorized youth
Did livery falseness in a pride of truth.

16

"Well could he ride, and often men would say,
'That horse his mettle from his rider takes :
Proud of subjection, noble by the sway,
What rounds, what bounds, what course, what stop he makes !'
And controversy hence a question takes,
Whether the horse by him became his deed,
Or he his manage by the well-doing steed.

17

"But quickly on this side the verdict went :
His real habitude gave life and grace
To appertainings and to ornament,
Accomplish'd in himself, not in his case :
All aids, themselves made fairer by their place,
Came for additions ; yet their purposed trim
Pierced not his grace, but were all graced by him.

18

"So on the tip of his subduing tongue
All kinds of arguments and question deep,
All replication prompt and reason strong,
For his advantage still did wake and sleep :
To make the weeper laugh, the laughter weep,
He had the dialect and different skill,
Catching all passions in his craft of will

19

"That he did in the general bosom reign
Of young, of old, and sexes both enchanted,
To dwell with him in thoughts, or to remain
In personal duty, following where he haunted :
Consents bewitch'd, ere he desire, have granted,
And dialogued for him what he would say,
Ask'd their own wills and made their wills obey.

20

"Many there were that did his picture get,
To serve their eyes, and in it put their mind ;
Like fools that in the imagination set
The goodly objects which abroad they find
Of lands and mansions, theirs in thought assign'd :
And labouring in moe pleasures to bestow them
Than the true gouty landlord which doth owe them.

21

"So many have, that never touch'd his hand,
Sweetly supposed them mistress of his heart.
My woeful self, that did in freedom stand,
And was my own fee-simple, not in part,
What with his art in youth and youth in art,
Threw my affections in his charmed power,
Reserved the stalk and gave him all my flower.

22

"Yet did I not, as some my equals did,
Demand of him, nor being desired yielded ;
Finding myself in honour so forbid,
With safest distance I mine honour shielded ;
Experience for me many bulwarks builded
Of proofs new-bleeding, which remain'd the foil
Of this false jewel, and this amorous spoil.

23

"But, ah, who ever shunn'd by precedent
The destined ill she must herself assay ?
Or forced examples, 'gainst her own content,
To put the by-past perils in her way ?
Counsel may stop awhile what will not stay ;
For when we rage, advice is often seen
By blunting us to make our wits more keen.

24

"Nor gives it satisfaction to our blood,
That we must curb it upon others' proof;
To be forbod the sweets that seem so good,
For fear of harms that preach in our behoof.
O appetite, from judgement stand aloof!
The one a palate hath that needs will taste,
Though Reason weep, and cry 'It is thy last.'

25

"For further I could say 'This man's untrue,'
And knew the patterns of his foul beguiling;
Heard where his plants in others' orchards grew,
Saw how deceits were gilded in his smiling;
Knew vows were ever brokers to defiling;
Thought characters and words merely but art,
And bastards of his foul adulterate heart.

26

"And long upon these terms I held my city,
Till thus he 'gan besiege me: 'Gentle maid,
Have of my suffering youth some feeling pity,
And be not of my holy vows afraid:
That's to ye sworn to none was ever said;
For feasts of love I have been call'd unto,
Till now did ne'er invite, nor never woo.

27

"All my offences that abroad you see
Are errors of the blood, none of the mind;
Love made them not: with acture they may be,
Where neither party is nor true nor kind:
They sought their shame that so their shame did find;
And so much less of shame in me remains
By how much of me their reproach contains.

28

"Among the many that mine eyes have seen,
Not one whose flame my heart so much as warmed,
Or my affection put to the smallest teen,
Or any of my leisures ever charmed:
Harm have I done to them, but ne'er was harmed;
Kept hearts in liveries, but mine own was free,
And reign'd, commanding in his monarchy.

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29

“ ‘Look here, what tributes wounded fancies sent me
Of paled pearls and rubies red as blood ;
Figuring that they their passions likewise lent me
Of grief and blushes, aptly understood
In bloodless white and the encrimson'd mood ;
Effects of terror and dear modesty,
Encamp'd in hearts, but fighting outwardly.

30

“ ‘And, lo, behold these talents of their hair,
With twisted metal amorously impleach'd,
I have received from many a several fair,
Their kind acceptance weepingly beseech'd
With the annexions of fair gems enrich'd,
And deep-brain'd sonnets that did amplify
Each stone's dear nature, worth and quality.

31

“ ‘The diamond, why, 'twas beautiful and hard,
Whereto his invised properties did tend ;
The deep-green emerald, in whose fresh regard
Weak sights their sickly radiance do amend ;
The heaven-hued sapphire and the opal blend
With objects manifold : each several stone,
With wit well blazon'd, smiled or made some moan.

32

“ ‘Lo, all these trophies of affections hot,
Of pensiyed and subdued desires the tender,
Nature hath charged me that I hoard them not,
But yield them up where I myself must render,
That is, to you, my origin and ender ;
For these, of force, must your oblations be,
Since I their altar, you enpatron me.

33

“ ‘O, then, advance of yours that phraseless hand,
Whose white weighs down the airy scale of praise ;
Take all these similes to your own command,
Hallow'd with sighs that burning lungs did raise ;
What me your minister, for you obeys,
Works under you ; and to your audit comes
Their distract parcels in combined sums.

34

“ ‘Lo, this device was sent me from a nun,
Or sister sanctified, of holiest note ;
Which late her noble suit in court did shun,
Whose rarest havings made the blossoms dote ;
For she was sought by spirits of richest coat,
But kept cold distance, and did thence remove,
To spend her living in eternal love.

35

“ ‘But, O my sweet, what labour is't to leave
The thing we have not, mastering what not strives,
Playing the place which did no form receive,
Playing patient sports in unconstrained gyves ?
She that her fame so to herself contrives,
The scars of battle 'scapeth by the flight,
And makes her absence valiant, not her might.

36

“ ‘O, pardon me, in that my boast is true :
The accident which brought me to her eye
Upon the moment did her force subdue,
And now she would the caged cloister fly :
Religious love put out Religion's eye :
Not to be tempted, would she be immured,
And now, to tempt all, liberty procured.

37

“ ‘How mighty then you are, O, hear me tell !
The broken bosoms that to me belong
Have emptied all their fountains in my well,
And mine I pour your ocean all among :
I strong o'er them, and you o'er me being strong,
Must for your victory us all congest,
As compound love to physic your cold breast.

38

“ ‘My parts had power to charm a sacred nun,
Who disciplined, ay, dieted in grace,
Believed her eyes when they to assail begun,
All vows and consecrations giving place :
O most potential love ! vow, bond, nor space,
In thee hath neither sting, knot, nor confine,
For thou art all, and all things else are thine.

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39

" 'When thou impresses, what are precepts worth
Of stale example? When thou wilt inflame,
How boldly those impediments stand forth
Of wealth, of filial fear, law, kindred, fame!
Love's arms are peace, 'gainst rule, 'gainst sense, 'gainst shame;
And sweetens, in the suffering pangs it bears,
The aloes of all forces, shocks and fears.

40

" 'Now all these hearts that do on mine depend,
Feeling it break, with bleeding groans they pine;
And supplicant their sighs to you extend,
To leave the battery that you make 'gainst mine,
Lending soft audience to my sweet design,
And credent soul to that strong-bonded oath
That shall prefer and undertake my troth.'

41

" 'This said, his watery eyes he did dismount,
Whose sights till then were levell'd on my face;
Each cheek a river running from a fount
With brinish current downward flow'd apace:
O, how the channel to the stream gave grace!
Who glazed with crystal gate the glowing roses
That flame through water which their hue encloses.

42

" 'O father, what a hell of witchcraft lies
In the small orb of one particular tear!
But with the inundation of the eyes
What rocky heart to water will not wear?
What breast so cold that is not warmed here?
O cleft effect! cold modesty, hot wrath,
Both fire from hence and chill extinture hath.

43

" 'For, lo, his passion, but an art of craft,
Even there resolved my reason into tears;
There my white stole of chastity I daff'd,
Shook off my sober guards and civil fears;
Appear to him, as he to me appears,
All melting; though our drops this difference bore,
His poison'd me, and mine did him restore.

44

" In him a plenitude of subtle matter,
Applied to cautels, all strange forms receives,
Of burning blushes, or of weeping water,
Or swoounding paleness ; and he takes and leaves,
In either's aptness, as it best deceives,
To blush at speeches rank, to weep at woes,
Or to turn white and swoond at tragic shows :

45

" That not a heart which in his level came
Could 'scape the hail of his all-hurting aim,
Showing fair nature is both kind and tame ;
And, veil'd in them, did win whom he would maim :
Against the thing he sought he would exclaim ;
When he most burn'd in heart-wish'd luxury,
He preach'd pure maid and praised cold chastity.

46

" Thus merely with the garment of a Grace
The naked and concealed fiend he cover'd ;
That the unexperient gave the tempter place,
Which, like a cherubin, above them hover'd.
Who, young and simple, would not be so lover'd ?
Ay me ! I fell, and yet do question make
What I should do again for such a sake.

47

" O, that infected moisture of his eye,
O, that false fire which in his cheek so glow'd,
O, that forced thunder from his heart did fly,
O, that sad breath his spongy lungs bestow'd,
O, all that borrow'd motion seeming owed,
Would yet again betray the fore-betray'd,
And new pervert a reconciled maid ! "

CHAPTER XV

DISPLAYING ELIZABETH VERNON AS HELENA AND THE EARL OF SOUTH- AMPTON AS BERTRAM IN *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*

IN *A Lover's Complaint* Shakespeare inferentially describes Southampton's appearance in the most glowing terms, and contrasts his beauty and his reckless selfishness with the wasted and aged appearance and the bitter remorse of the maiden, who represents Elizabeth Vernon, and with the contemplative melancholy of the herdsman, who images himself. These same inferential contrasts are openly made in the sixth *book* of sonnets, where he describes Southampton's youth and beauty, and his own dejection and decay. In the concluding verses to this sequence, he seems also to include Elizabeth Vernon in his comparison, where he speaks in the plural of Southampton's "lovers withering" as he grows :

O thou, my lovely boy, who in thy power
Dost hold Time's fickle glass, his sickle, hour ;
Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st
Thy lovers withering as thy sweet self grow'st ;
If Nature, sovereign mistress over wrack,
As thou goest onwards, still will pluck thee back,
She keeps thee to this purpose, that her skill
May time disgrace and wretched minutes kill.
Yet fear her, O thou minion of her pleasure !
She may detain, but not still keep, her treasure :
Her audit, though delay'd, answer'd must be
And her quietus is to render thee.

I have displayed a similar contrast in *The Merchant of Venice*, between the care-free Bassanio and the melancholy Antonio; but here there is no distressed maiden. From this, and for other reasons already mentioned, I infer that *The Merchant of Venice* was composed late in the autumn of 1597; the sixth *book* of sonnets shortly afterwards, either late in 1597 or early in 1598, and *A Lover's Complaint* still later, when knowledge of Southampton's relations with Elizabeth Vernon had become public.

The evidence of the preceding chapters makes it plain that all three of these productions were composed between the late autumn of 1597 and the summer of 1598. Shortly following this period I date also the revision of *Love's Labour's Won* into *All's Well that Ends Well*. Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, which alludes to the play under the earlier title, was entered upon the Stationers' Registers in September 1598. It is plain that the revision and change of title were made subsequent to this entry.

Love's Labour's Won, written originally in 1592 and reflecting incidents connected with the Queen's progress to Tichfield House in the previous autumn, reflecting also Southampton's departure for the French wars accompanied by Florio, and his aversion to the proposed match with Elizabeth Vere, was revised in 1598, with Southampton's affairs still in mind. His relations with Elizabeth Vernon, however, are depicted in the latter year.

We cannot now judge in what manner Shakespeare originally developed and ended the story, but enough of the older play remains to allow a comparison of its former comedy and lightness with its present semi-tragic intensity of feeling.

When Shakespeare in 1591-3, at the instigation of

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Southampton's friends, advocated his marriage to Elizabeth Vere in his earliest *book* of sonnets, *Venus and Adonis*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Love's Labour's Won*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he did so perfunctorily ; the woman in the case at this early stage remains always more or less of a lay figure. It is apparent that Shakespeare did not come into close personal contact with Burghley's granddaughter, or that if he did, that she made no strong impression upon his mind. As his friendship with Southampton developed, his more intimate relations with that nobleman and his connections undoubtedly brought him into personal relations with Elizabeth Vernon, whose ingenuous character, striking beauty, and passionate devotion to his friend Southampton at once aroused his interest and championship.

The Helena of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (who reflects Elizabeth Vere) shows little or no characterisation. The personality of Hermia, who in the same play represents the "dark lady," is very much more strongly indicated. In *Romeo and Juliet*, however (which was originally written a few months later than *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, at a time when Southampton's engagement to Elizabeth Vere was disrupted and he had fallen in love with Elizabeth Vernon), Juliet, who reflects the latter, displays a most distinct personality, and stands out among the women of Shakespeare's plays as one of his elemental creations. A mere girl, yet physically mature for her years, radiantly beautiful, innocent as a flower, yet instinct with tumultuous passion : this is the heroine of what has been called "the great and typical love tragedy of the world." This also was Elizabeth Vernon in 1594, slightly, but very slightly, idealised by Shakespeare's imagination.

It is difficult in these staid days to realise the actuality of social conditions at all approximating to the passionate intensity and romantic fervour of the atmosphere of *Romeo and Juliet*. When we read this play we perforce give reins to our imagination, as we tacitly agree Shakespeare did, in placing his plot in Italy, and at a remote age. We accept it as a gorgeous fable, illuminated and vitalised by the genius of a great poet ; as something

Apart from space, withholding time
And flattering the golden prime
Of good Haroun Al Raschid.

But neither Italy, in its most fantastical age, nor the faery dominions of the good Caliph were ever so redolent of romance, so surcharged with elemental virility and passion, as the great days of Elizabeth.

Shakespeare chose this tragic story for his plot, in order to depict in the strongest light, for the benefit of the Queen, the disastrous possibilities in a case similar to that of Southampton's and Elizabeth Vernon's. His appeal fell on deaf ears, and four years passed away, during which time Juliet's passionate intensity sobers by suffering into Helena's patient and resolute devotion. Though Romeo has died, Bertram still lives. Southampton, his degenerating prototype, under the malign influence of Florio—Bertram and Parolles, the Prince and Falstaff—spends idle days and nights in London ; tiring in time of this, he makes arrangements to travel, but is interrupted in his plans, first by the Calais expedition, which he endeavours to join, though refused permission by the Queen, then by the expedition to Cadiz, and later on by the Island Voyage ; from which he returns, crowned with laurels. He is still, however, frowned upon by Elizabeth, who remains obdurate

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in her opposition to his marriage. Through it all, the patient Helena—Elizabeth Vernon—waits and hopes and loves. During November and December 1597, Southampton is the hero of the day. He alone has returned from the Island Voyage with his credit enhanced. Helena's hero is really a hero after all. She had never lost her faith in him; her great love gave the lie to selfishness and neglect. Old unkindness is forgotten, and Helena in her new-found joy is almost transfigured again into Juliet; but Bertram, alas, is still Bertram. The anticlimax of January follows, with its complications, the spying Willoughby and the scandal, his quarrels with Southampton, the investigation by Essex and the Lord Chamberlain. How serious it looks! What is it all about? whispers the Court, scenting a choice piece of scandal. It turns out after all to be "much ado about nothing." Have we not the words of the Lord Chamberlain and of my Lord of Essex for the facts? Merely a disagreement over a game of cards. How circumstantially loyal, partisan Whyte repeats the virtuous lie; no scandal shall circulate about "the fairest one" if he can help it. And so it is hushed up. Southampton, however, is commanded from the Court, and though he is back again in a few days is treated coldly by the Queen. "My Lord Southampton," writes gossip Whyte, "is much troubled at her majesty's strangest usage of him. Somebody hath played unfriendly parts with him. Mr. Secretary hath procured him leave to travel." So Bertram is for the wars again. On 12th February, Whyte reports, "My Lord Southampton is gone. He was at Essex House with the Earl of Essex, and there had much private talk with him for two hours in the court below." What did they talk about? Essex is fully in the secret;

the recent developments in Southampton's relations with his cousin, Elizabeth Vernon, are known to him. He and the Lord Chamberlain had examined into the matter. Perhaps after all "Bertram" is not quite so bad as he appears. Do they discuss the advisability of a secret marriage before Southampton's departure? Probably so! But can it be accomplished unknown to the Court? Cecil's spies are everywhere, and watch Essex's every move, further to discredit him with the Queen, with whom his relations are now strained. The clandestine marriage of his cousin, by his connivance, would be a dainty morsel of gossip for Cecil's emissaries. Essex himself was now playing fast and loose with his own reputation. Neither his political mistakes nor his military mismanagement afforded Cecil weapons against him half so effective as the renewal at this time of his amour with Elizabeth Bridges, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting. When he sailed on the *Island Voyage* in 1597 he was under a cloud on the score of this lady. In April that year, Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sidney: "The queen hath of late used Mistress Bridges with words and blows of anger, and she with Mistress Russell were put out of the coffer Chamber. They lay three nights at my Lady Staffords, but are now returned again to their wonted waiting." Now again in February 1598, a few days after Southampton's departure, he writes: "I know you will be sorry to hear what grieves me to write of, it is spied out by envy, that the Earl of Essex is again fallen in love with his fairest B. It cannot choose but come to the Queen's ears: then is he undone, and all that depend upon his favour." Cecil and his friends took good care that it came to the Queen's ears. This gossip of Whyte is conveyed in the same letter in which he reports

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Southampton's private talk with Essex "for two hours in the court below." It is evident their talk concerned Elizabeth Vernon and the possibility, or advisability, of solemnising a marriage before his departure."

A week before Whyte reports: "It is secretly said that my Lord Southampton shall be married to his fair mistress." The marriage, however, has not taken place. Now he is leaving and talks with Essex privately for two hours, and departs without marrying, leaving behind him "a very desolate gentlewoman that almost weeps out her fairest eyes." A sacrifice to Court politics and his own cowardice and selfishness, it is to be wondered at that she has any eyes left to "weep out." Whyte has reported her tears for four years past. He never mentions her but with tenderness and admiration; "the fairest one," he constantly calls her, or "his fairest mistress." It is interesting to notice how similar Rowland Whyte's estimation of both Elizabeth Vernon and Southampton is to that of Shakespeare's. For the former he has nothing but sympathy and admiration; for Southampton his regard is high, but while he likes and admires him, he tacitly deprecates his behaviour. His criticisms, while not openly expressed, are easily read between the lines of his letters. With all his faults, however, his admiration is sincere. "My Lord Southampton went away on Monday last," he writes on one occasion to Sir Robert Sidney; "he is a very fine gentleman and loves you well."

Shakespeare's admiration for the beauty and charm of Juliet's ingenuous prototype is unquestionable; as is also his compassion and regard for her in her development as Helena. In depicting her in the latter character he becomes her ardent champion; even to the point of offend-

ing and estranging his idol Southampton, who evidently at times wearies of his admonitions and seeks surcease in the society of the more complaisant Florio.

As we find the characters in which Elizabeth Vernon is sketched in the plays differentiated by an essentially feminine gentleness from certain other of Shakespeare's female characters that suggest living models, so in actual life she presents a similar contrast to her dashing friends and relations at Court, whose striking personalities it is probable that Shakespeare had in mind in the development of such characters as Katherine and Beatrice. She lacks entirely the assurance and spirit of her cousins, Penelope and Dorothy Devereaux, the latter of whom was a veritable Beatrice ; she has none of the hoydenish boldness of Mary Fitton, and in comparison with Elizabeth Bridges, Bess Russell and other women of the Court, of whom we have record, seems weak and characterless ; but in the gentle and sympathetic manner that Rowland Whyte always refers to her, and in the admiration and tender compassion with which Shakespeare delineates her as Juliet and later as Helena, as well as in a letter of hers to her husband that still exists, we may apprehend a femininity and delicacy of type which evidently distinguished her from the others. What she lacked in force of character was fully compensated for by the intensity of her emotional nature. Only this one letter of hers of this period is known to exist. It was written to Southampton in July 1599, while he was in Ireland with Essex, and while she was living at Chartley with her cousin, Lady Penelope Rich. In the light of her past troubles it is full of pathos, and breathes the very spirit of Helena's devotion to Bertram. She writes :

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“ My dear Lord and only joy of my life I beseech you love me ever and be pleased to know that my Lady Rich will needes have me send you word how importunate my Lord Rich is with her to come to London fearing he shall lose most of his land which my Lord Chamberlain hopes to recover, but he thinks if she were here in London she would make means to have the suit not pressed till her brothers coming home which else he fears will go on to his loss before that time, therefore go to him needs she must. She is, she tells me ; very loth to leave me here alone and most desirous, I thank her, to have me with her in Essex till your return unto me, she hath written both to you and her brother that it may be so. For myself I protest unto you that your will either in this or anything else shall be most pleasing unto me and my mind is alike to all places in this ill time to me of your absence from me being at quiet in no place. I pray you resolve what you will have me do and send me word of it. If you will have me go with her she desires that you will write a letter to my Lord Rich that I may do so and she hath sent to her brother to do the like for she says she knows his humour so well as he will not be pleased unless that course be taken. She will be gone before Bartholemy day therefore before that time let me I pray you know your pleasure what I shall do, which no earthly power shall make me disobey, and what you dislike in this letter I beseech you lay not to my charge, for I protest unto you I was most unwilling to give you cause of trouble with thinking of any such matter for me in your absence, but that she infinitely desired me to do it ; and this lastly protesting unto you again that where you like best I should be that place shall be most pleasing to me and all others to be in most hateful to me. I am never ending to pray to God to keep you ever from all danger perfectly well and soon to bring you to me who will endlessly be your faithful and obedient wife.

“ E. SOUTHAMPTON.”

The plaintive tone of this letter is slightly relieved by the postscript which refers to John Florio and in a spirit which reveals that individual somewhat in the light of a butt in the eyes of his noble friends :

“ All the news I can send you that I think will make you merry is that I read in a letter from London that Sir John Falstaff is by his mistress, Dame Pintpot, made father of a goodly millers thumb, a boy that's all head and very little body : but this is a secret.”

When the date of this letter (8th July 1599) is borne in mind, the palpable bearing of the fact recorded in the postscript, upon conditions in Florio's life, as reflected by Shakespeare in the stage of Falstaff's relations with Doll Tearsheet, and of Armado's relations with Jaquenetta, definitely settles the date of the production of *The Second Part of Henry IV.*, and of the final revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*, as December 1598.

While a striking difference of style has been noticed in *All's Well that Ends Well*, and a remarkable contrast pointed out, between passages that are palpably early work and others that are as plainly recognisable as the production of our poet's maturer years, and while all critics recognise the play as we now know it, as a recast of an early play, no attempt has hitherto been made to give the action of the play a personal interpretation, nor to account for the later time revision, on subjective grounds. I shall now endeavour to adduce textual evidence of the theory I advance regarding the play in its earlier and later forms, as a reflection of incidents in the life of the Earl of Southampton at both periods.

I have already shown that Southampton left England

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to join the English troops in France some time between September 1591 and February 1592, and have suggested the probability that he was accompanied at this time by John Florio. We have no record of his departure, and do not know whether or not he took French leave in departing for the wars, as did Bertram, but presume that he left England with the cognizance and sanction of his guardian, Lord Burghley. It is extremely probable, however, that he had solicited the Queen's permission to join the English army before this time, and quite likely that he wished to accompany the forces under the Earl of Essex, that left England in July 1591. A few years later we find him on more than one occasion at the coast with others of the younger noblemen of the Court, endeavouring to join outward-bound expeditions without obtaining the Queen's sanction, and being with these other

Rash inconsiderate fiery voluntaries
With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens

ordered peremptorily back to London. As late as 1596 he, with Lord Compton and several other young noblemen, left the Court without leave, and endeavoured to accompany Essex on the Calais expedition ; but strict injunctions were laid upon Essex against taking them. A few months later, when the Cadiz expedition sailed, it was only at the last moment, and at the solicitation of Sir Robert Cecil, that Southampton was allowed to go.

Now the action of *All's Well that Ends Well* covers a period of only three months. We find Bertram, in Act II. Scene i. (most of which act and scene palpably pertain to the play in its earlier form), considered by the King as too young to accompany the other lords to the wars :

- KING. Those girls of Italy, take heed of them.
They say our French lack language to deny
If they demand ; beware of being captives
Before you serve.
- LORDS. Our hearts receive your warnings.
- KING. Farewell. Come hither to me. (*Exit.*)
- 1ST LORD. O my sweet lord, that you will stay behind us!
- PAROLLES. Tis not his fault, the spark.
- 2ND LORD. O, tis brave wars
- PAROLLES. Most admirable : I have seen those wars!
- BERTRAM. I am commanded here and kept a coil with
"Too young," and "the next year" and "'tis
too early."
- PAROLLES. An thy mind stand to't, boy, steal away bravely.
- BERTRAM. I shall stay here the forehorse to a smock,
Creaking my shoes on the plain masonry,
Till honour be bought up and no sword worn
But one to dance with. By heaven, I'll steal
away.

Though Bertram in the second act is represented as too young for the wars, in Act III. Scene iii. (which is plainly a part of the revisionary work), the incidents of which are supposed to take place only a few weeks after those of the preceding act, we find him greeted by the Duke of Florence as "the General of our horse" :

- DUKE. The General of our horse thou art ; and we,
Great in our hope, lay our best love and credence
Upon thy promising fortunes.

As the lines from Act II. Scene i.—

- BERTRAM. I am commanded here, and kept a coil with
"Too young," and "the next year" and "'tis
too early"—

reflect the actual conditions in Southampton's case, in the earlier years (1591-2), at which period I date the original composition of the play : so the reference to "the General of our horse" matches the circumstances of his life at the time I advance for its revision—late in 1598 or early in

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1599, when preparations were on foot for Essex's Irish campaign and Southampton was appointed "general of the horse." On 8th December 1598, John Chamberlain, reporting to Dudley Carleton news of the preparation being made for the war, writes :

"The Earl of Southampton was named to be *general of the horse*."

The mention of this play by Meres (under the title of *Love's Labour's Won*) in his *Palladis Tamia*, gives us fair evidence that the revision was not made nor the title changed before September 1598, in which month Meres' work was entered upon the Stationers' Registers. The allusion to Southampton as "general of our horse" places the date of revision as late as or later than December 1598, in which month Southampton was first mentioned publicly in this connection. The large amount of new and revisionary work done by Shakespeare at about this period, and on plays that reflect Southampton's relations with Florio and Elizabeth Vernon, suggests a renewal of intimate relations between Southampton and our poet, and the strong probability that Shakespeare and his company were frequently employed by Southampton and his friends for private presentations during the months intervening between his liberation from the Fleet in November 1598 and his departure for the Irish war with Essex in March 1599. There can be little doubt, in the light of foregoing evidence, that *The Second Part of Henry IV.* was composed at this period, and that *Love's Labour's Lost* and *All's Well that Ends Well* were revised in the same interval.

As the parallels quoted above reflect Southampton's life at the periods of the composition and of the revision of

the play, a similar distinction may be noticed between the characterisation of Parolles and of Helena in the earlier and later acts. The Parolles of Act I. shows us Shakespeare's conception of Florio in 1591-2—a vain, boastful and immoral, though witty and comparatively harmless, charlatan. In the later acts of the play he has developed into a pander and misleader of youth :

Act III. Scene v.—

MA. I know that knave ; hang him ! one Parolles : a filthy officer he is in those suggestions for the young Earl.

In passing, notice the expression " the young Earl." Here Shakespeare nearly throws off the mask of allegory ; surely he knew there was no such title as Earl in France. Southampton was frequently referred to at this period as " the young Earl."¹

Again, in Act IV. Scene v., he denotes Parolles as a pander, and uses an expression to describe him that he used a few months before in relation to Pandarus, in *Troilus and Cressida* ; in which character and quality he also reflected Florio :

LAF. No, no, no, your son was misled with a snipt taffeta fellow there, whose villanous saffron would make all the unbaked and doughy youth of a nation in his color : your daughter-in-law had been alive at this hour, and your son here at home more advanced by the King than by that red-tailed humble-bee I speak of.

When Troilus, in extreme disgust, at last dismisses Pandarus with the words :

TROILUS. Hence broker—lackey, ignominy and shame
Pursue thy life and live aye with thy name,

¹ This was to differentiate him from his friend Essex, who was generally spoken of as " the Earl."

Pardarus replies :

PAN. A goodly medicine for my aching bones ! O world ! world ! world ! thus is the poor agent despised ! O traitors and bawds, how earnestly are you set awork and how ill requited ! Why should our endeavour be so loved and the performance so loathed ? What verse for it ? What instance for it ? Let me see :

Full merrily the humble-bee doth sing
Till he have lost his honey and his sting,
And being once subdued in armed tail
Sweet honey and sweet notes together fail.

In the description and characterisation of Parolles, in the earlier acts, there is none of the bitter disgust and contempt exhibited by Shakespeare for the same character in the later acts of the play, except in a few lines spoken by Helena that are plainly an interpolation of the period of revision. This play being written in 1591-2, as a more or less playful comedy, with the intention of forwarding the match between Southampton and Elizabeth Vere, the original Parolles caricatured Florio before Shakespeare had yet fully analysed his character, and more in a spirit of amusement than of anger ; resembling in this respect the comic sketch of the same individual in the person of Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the composition of which play I have dated at about the same period as that of *Love's Labour's Won*. While *Love's Labour's Lost* was also revised at the same time that *Love's Labour's Won* was practically rewritten, comparatively slight changes have apparently been made in this character.

Though very thorough revision is evident in the earlier as well as in the later acts of *All's Well that Ends Well*, the traces of the older play are fuller and more numerous in the first two acts. There can be no question that the following lines pertain to the period of revision ;

Act I. Scene i.—

HELENA. O, were that all ! I think not on my father ;
 And these great tears grace his remembrance more
 Than those I shed for him : what was he like ?
 I have forgot him : my imagination
 Carries no favour in't but Bertram's :
 I am undone : there is no living, none,
 If Bertram be away. 'Twere all one
 That I should love a bright particular star
 And think to wed it, he is so far above me :
 In his bright radiance and collateral light
 Must I be comforted, not in his sphere.
 The ambition in my love thus plagues itself :
 The hind that would be mated by the lion
 Must die for love. 'Twas pretty, though a plague,
 To see him every hour ; to sit and draw
 His arched brows, his hawking eye, his curls,
 In our heart's table ; heart too capable
 Of every line and trick of his sweet favour ;
 But now he's gone, and my idolatrous fancy
 Must sanctify his reliques. Who comes here ?

Enter PAROLLES.

(*Aside.*) One that goes with him : I love him for his sake ,
 And yet I know him a notorious liar,
 Think him a great fool, solely a coward ;
 Yet these fix'd evils so fit in him,
 That they take place when virtue's steely bones
 Look bleak i' the cold wind : withal full oft we see
 Cold wisdom waiting on superfluous folly.

The description of Bertram in these lines :

His arched brow, his hawking eye, his curls,
 closely corresponds to that of the absent lover of *A Lover's
 Complaint*, and also to our knowledge of Southampton's
 appearance. Helena's opinion of Parolles, in the lines :

And yet I know him a notorious liar,
 Think him a great way fool, solely a coward,

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while coinciding exactly with the description given of him by one of the lords in Act III. Scene vi. (the whole of which scene is plainly the maturer work of the period of revision) :

SECOND LORD. He's a most notable coward, an infinite and endless liar, an hourly promise-breaker, the owner of no one good quality,

does not at all harmonise with her familiar and disagreeably facetious conversation with him in the remainder of this scene ; which portion both textually and spiritually palpably belongs to the play in its earlier form. The light and characterless Helena of this unseemly and indelicate dialogue, and of the rhymed platitudes of portions of Act II., is entirely inconsistent with the noble and devoted woman portrayed under the same name in the revised play.

Many of the later scenes of *All's Well that Ends Well*, those portions of the play that in text most clearly pertain to the period of revision, plainly reflect Southampton's sojourn in France, between March and November 1598.

Upon 21st March, Sir Robert Cecil, in presenting Southampton to Henry IV. at the French camp at Angiers, introduced him with the assurance that he had " come with deliberation to do him service." The words of the Countess of Rousillon to the lords departing for the wars, and referring to Bertram :

I will entreat you, when you see my son,
To tell him that his sword can never win
The honour that he loses,

give us Shakespeare's opinion of Southampton's action at this time in deserting Elizabeth Vernon.

Shortly after Southampton's arrival at the French camp a truce was arranged, pending the preparation of a treaty of peace. Instead of continuing his continental travels,

with which avowed intention he had secured permission to travel, Southampton remained in France, spending most of his time idly and unprofitably in Paris ; evidently awaiting word from Essex as to his future course in regard to Elizabeth Vernon. Shakespeare, who probably was not fully in his confidence regarding his intentions, and who heartily sympathised with Elizabeth Vernon, castigates him with no light rod, in his delineation of Bertram, and in *A Lover's Complaint*. In the following lines he reveals his anxious interest :

SECOND LORD. I hear there is an overture of peace.

FIRST LORD. Nay, I assure you, a peace concluded.

SECOND LORD. What will Count Rousillon do then ? Will he travel higher or return again into France ?

FIRST LORD. I perceive by this demand you are not altogether of his council.

SECOND LORD. Let it be forbid, sir ; so should I be a great deal of his act.

He censures him, however, more in sorrow than in anger, his underlying affection and old admiration for his friend arousing his charity to soften his reproach.

SECOND LORD. . . . The great dignity that his valour hath here acquired for him shall at home be encountered with a shame as ample.

FIRST LORD. The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together : our virtues would be proud if our faults whipped them not ; and our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues.

For the basis of this play, Shakespeare used the story of Gilletta of Narbonne, from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. In this story there is no Countess of Rousillon, no Lafeu, and no Parolles. Beltramo, the original of Bertram, is not interdicted upon account of his youth from going to the wars. When he joins the army of the Florentines, he is

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not appointed "General of the horse," but made "Captaine of a certaine number of men." There is no account nor mention of overtures of peace between the opposing armies; nor record of "a peace concluded." Neither is there any question regarding Beltramo's continuing his travels. All of the characters mentioned, however, are matched by originals amongst Southampton's relatives, friends and followers, and all of the incidents, by the facts of his career at the periods of the composition and of the revision of the play. The Countess of Rousillon is Southampton's mother, the widowed Countess of Southampton; her courtly attendant, Lafeu, reflects the experienced courtier, Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain of the Court, who doubtless accompanied the Queen to Tichfield House on the occasion of the progress in the autumn of 1591, and who married Lady Southampton in 1594, about two years after the date of the composition of the play, and a year after the death of his first wife, who had for years been an invalid. Parolles clearly reflects Florio, but gives a composite sketch from Shakespeare's earlier and later impressions. That Helena reproduces Elizabeth Vernon and Bertram the Earl of Southampton, seems now apparent.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF SONNETS. DATE OF COMPOSITION BETWEEN THE AUTUMN OF 1598 AND SPRING OF 1599

THE seventh and last *book* of sonnets in the series written to the Earl of Southampton is a complete twenty-sonnet sequence. In this *book*, as in the fourth, Shakespeare manifests a spirit of exhilaration and pleasure at the renewal of friendly relations with his patron, and records the fact of the recent circulation of scandal concerning himself; he searchingly analyses the offence with which he is charged, and, while owning to a basis of truth for the reports, challenges the superior morals of his accusers and their fitness to sit in judgment. He laments the social disparity that separates him from his friend, and deplores the disadvantages of fortune that necessitate the "public means" of his livelihood, with its attendant reproach and temptations.

It is evident that a prolonged period has elapsed since the preceding *book* of sonnets was written; that the friends have been apart in the interval, and that the reunion has been marked by some assurance of Southampton's continued interest. The assured tone of the words:

Then happy I, that love and am beloved
Where I may not remove nor be removed,

contrast suggestively with the diffidence and fears of the

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preceding sequence. Southampton has evidently questioned the poet regarding his silence, and has heard that he had parted with a gift of tablets he had given him ; which is admitted by Shakespeare, who says :

To keep an adjunct to remember thee
Were to import forgetfulness in me.

In a later sonnet, following the same train of thought, speaking of time and its registers, he says :

Thy registers and thee I both defy,
Not wondering at the present nor the past,
For thy records and what we see doth lie,
Made more or less by thy continual haste.
This I do vow, and this shall ever be,
I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee.

I date the composition of this *book* of sonnets between November 1598 and March 1599. It is evident that it was written at a time of renewed intimacy between Shakespeare and his patron.

Southampton returned from France, after an absence of about nine months, in November 1598. He was committed to the Fleet upon his return for marrying Elizabeth Vernon without the Queen's permission, and though shortly afterwards released, never regained her favour nor was again admitted to her presence. We have little record of Southampton between the time of his release and the following March, when he accompanied the Earl of Essex upon the Irish expedition. It is evident, however, that he spent this winter and spring in London, and that during this interval, being restrained from attendance at Court, that he came frequently in contact with Shakespeare.

In this year Shakespeare finally secured the right to Arms, and doubtless through the influence of Southampton

with the Earl of Essex, who at this time was chief of the College of Heralds. Much of the gratification expressed in the seventh *book* of sonnets was no doubt due to the efforts being made by Southampton to secure this honour. It is unlikely also that such efforts would be made in the autumn of 1599 when both Southampton and Essex were in disgrace.

Though explicitly instructed by the Queen to show no favours to Southampton, Essex appointed him general of the horse shortly after their arrival in Ireland. This was the beginning of a series of mistakes on the part of Essex that eventually led to his, and Southampton's, political undoing. When the Queen learned of Southampton's appointment she commanded the cancellation of his commission. Essex complied with her instructions, displacing Southampton from his command in July 1599; refraining, however, from appointing another in his place. In September 1599, Essex (who was kept informed by his friends of the humours of the Queen, and also of the secret efforts being made by his political opponents to prevent the speedy success of his enterprise in order to prolong his absence from the Court) concluded a hasty truce with the rebel leader, and taking French leave, returned with Southampton and others of his partisans to England. To prevent knowledge of his return reaching the Queen ahead of his coming to Court, he left his friends and rode in haste to London, presenting himself to the Queen immediately upon his arrival. Though he was at first received in a favourable manner by Elizabeth, who was completely taken by surprise at his return, within a few days he was placed under restraint, which, with varying degrees of severity, lasted for over a year, and even then upon his enlargement he was

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inhibited from coming to Court. Southampton, though not placed under arrest, continued in disfavour, and was restrained from attendance at Court during this period.

Essex had so often fallen temporarily into disfavour, and, in a short time, regained his old power with the Queen, that the Court gossips for a time looked confidently to his speedy restoration; while his own adherents, though advising and practising submissiveness to the Queen's will, maintained a critical and truculent attitude towards individual members of the opposing Court faction, headed by Sir Robert Cecil. For a while some of the younger gentlemen and noblemen in Essex's party openly discussed and championed the cause of their leader and, at times, to the point of blows. Rowland Whyte reports that lampoons against Sir Robert Cecil were written even upon the "white walls of the Court." The correspondents of the day wrote freely for a time of the Earl's expected return to favour; but as months wore on and the Queen's coldness to Essex continued, and her anger, fanned by Cecil, Raleigh, Grey and others, broke into intermittent threatenings, the gravity of the situation gradually dawned upon the City and Court, and the political world became tacitly conscious of the relentless and implacable nature of Cecil's hostility to the fallen favourite. His cause ceased by degrees to be openly discussed; correspondents now wrote of him guardedly and in ciphers, and time-servers flocked to the side of Cecil.

The seventh *book* of sonnets refers too openly to Essex and to the "thralled discontent" of his faction to have been written at this later period of his disgrace. I therefore date this *book* late in the autumn of 1598, or before March 1599, when Southampton and Essex departed for Ireland.

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During this period Southampton was constantly in London preparing for the coming campaign.

The first reference I notice in this *book* of sonnets to the peculiar political conditions of the time is in the 124th sonnet (the 19th of the seventh *book*). The expression "child of state" refers to Essex and his present disfavour with the Queen. He was referred to at this time (1598) by those whose wish was father to the thought as "a lost child."¹ In the 25th sonnet, which I place as the concluding sonnet in this sequence, Shakespeare again refers to the fallen fortunes of Essex.

Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread
But as the marigold at the sun's eye,
And in themselves their pride lies buried,
For at a frown they in their glory die.
The painful warrior famoused for fight,
After a thousand victories once foil'd,
Is from the book of honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toil'd.

This sonnet alludes to the Earl of Essex's past victories, to his failure in the Island Voyage, and to the disfavour of the Queen, which continued for over a year after his return.

The 124th sonnet, which I place as the nineteenth in the present sequence, refers also to the murmuring discontent of Essex's faction, which consisted largely of the more daring and adventurous of the younger nobility and gentry described by Shakespeare as "our fashion." The last two lines of this sonnet—

To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime—

allude to the execution of three men—Stanley, Rolls and

¹ On the 21st of July 1598, Cecil's factionary, Lord Grey, wrote to Cecil's brother-in-law, Lord Cobham, "I consider the Earl of Essex 'a lost child.'"

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Squires—who were put to death for their participation in a plot to murder the Earl of Essex and the Queen. Before their execution they made a full confession, expressing great contrition and religious fervour. Squires was executed in November 1598 and the others shortly afterwards.

The confessions of the sonnets, running from the sixth to the tenth in this book, refer distinctly to Shakespeare's relations with the "dark lady," and the "vulgar scandal" mentioned in the sixth sonnet refers to the recent publication of the third edition of *Willobie his Avis*, which was printed to coincide with the publication of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599, but condemned by the public censor before issue.

Shakespeare, while in process of composing this *book* of sonnets in the autumn of 1598, probably saw Meres' reference to him and his Sonnets in his *Palladis Tamia*, which was entered on the Stationers' Registers in September; and in the 115th sonnet—numbered as the 15th in the seventh *book*—refers to his fourth *book*, which Meres evidently had in mind, and writes :

Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
 Even those that said I could not love you dearer :
 Yet then my judgement knew no reason why
 My most full flame should afterwards burn clearer.
 But reckoning Time, whose million'd accidents
 Creep in 'twixt vows, and change decrees of kings,
 Tan sacred beauty, blunt the sharp'st intents,
 Divert strong minds to the course of altering things ;
 Alas, why, fearing of Time's tyranny,
 Might I not then say " Now I love you best,"
 When I was certain o'er incertainty,
 Crowning the present, doubting of the rest ?
 Love is a babe ; then might I not say so,
 To give full growth to that which still doth grow ?

This is a very peculiar breaking away from his present

theme, and that it was suggested by Meres' reference appears evident from Shakespeare's reflection, in the 16th and 17th sonnets of this *book*, of the verses of Horace quoted by Meres.

The incorrect manner in which Shakespeare construes the meaning of these lines of Horace, and the reference to "pyramids," gives us a sidelight upon the reported limitations of his Latin. In the fourth *book*, where he reflects Ovid's 15th Elegy correctly, he no doubt worked from Marlowe's translation.

In the 18th and 19th sonnets in the present *book*, Shakespeare answers an attack made upon him by Chapman in a poem written to M. Harriots, and appended to his *Achilles' Shield*, which was published late in 1598 or early in 1599. It will be shown that this book, which is a translation of the 18th *Iliad* of Homer, was published by Chapman in answer to Shakespeare's satire in *Troilus and Cressida* upon his own translation of seven books of the *Iliad* issued earlier in 1598, and dedicated to the Earl of Essex. In order to show the erroneous nature of the basis of Shakespeare's classical knowledge displayed in his version of the Homeric story, where he depicts Achilles as being involved in an intrigue with one of Priam's daughters, and also as sulking in his tent from wounded vanity, Chapman issued his translation of the story, from the original source, giving it the suggestive title of *Achilles' Shield*. In order to give full point to his intention he appended the poem to Harriots, in which he indicates Shakespeare by referring to his ignorance of the classics and alluding to his Sonnets, which he calls "tympanies of state,"¹ claiming that they were written with mercenary

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, pp. 154-6.

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motives. He also alludes to the now fallen fortunes of Shakespeare's patron and predicts a cessation of Shakespeare's praises. In answer to this Shakespeare writes :

BOOK VII. SONNET XVIII.

Were't aught to me I bore the canopy,
With my extern the outward honouring,
Or laid great bases for eternity,
Which prove more short than waste or ruining ?
Have I not seen dwellers on form and favour
Lose all, and more, by paying too much rent,
For compound sweet forgoing simple savour,
Pitiful thrivers, in their gazing spent ?
No, let me be obsequious in thy heart,
And take thou my oblation, poor but free,
Which is not mix'd with seconds, knows no art
But mutual render, only me for thee.
Hence, thou suborn'd informer ! a true soul
When most impeach'd stands least in thy control.

BOOK VII. SONNET XIX.

If my dear love were but the child of state,
It might for Fortune's bastard be unfathered,
As subject to Time's love or to Time's hate,
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gather'd.
No, it was builded far from accident ;
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls ;
It fears not policy, that heretic,
Which works on leases of short-number'd hours,
But all alone stands hugely politic,
That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.
To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime.

The following lines from the 18th sonnet—

Have I not seen dwellers on form and favour
Lose all, and more, by paying too much rent,
For compound sweet forgoing simple savour,
Pitiful thrivers, in their gazing spent ?—

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probably refer to Chapman's case. He, having hitherto sought Southampton's favour, had recently dedicated his translations to Essex, who shortly afterwards fell into a state where his countenance could be of little material value to needy poets.

Early in 1600 many of Essex's friends, including Southampton, realising that their discontent and its resulting factional disorders increased the difficulties of their leader's position and supplied the Cecil faction with argument to use upon the Queen in hindering his restoration to favour, in order to pacify Elizabeth and to disarm their critics, sought employment in the wars, either in the Low Countries or in Ireland. In January 1600, Southampton sought permission to accompany Lord Mountjoy to Ireland, which was granted; but a farewell audience with the Queen being refused, he lingered in London under the pretext of seeking an interview with her until late in April, when he finally left for Ireland without having been admitted to her presence. He was no sooner away from the Court than he wrote to his old antagonist Lord Grey, one of those who had a year before referred to Essex as "a lost child," appointing a meeting in Ireland to settle their dispute. Lord Grey evidently refused to go to Ireland and suggested a meeting in Flanders, as in August Rowland Whyte reports that Southampton had sailed from Ireland to meet Lord Grey in Flanders. Upon reaching there he acquainted Grey of his arrival and appointed a meeting, which, however, does not seem to have been kept by his opponent.

In October 1600, Rowland Whyte again reports Southampton's and Grey's presence in London, but says, "Here is now little speech of their quarrel." The return

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of Southampton and others of Essex's partisans to London was followed by renewed bickerings between the factions. On 3rd February 1601, Southampton and Grey, meeting accidentally while riding in the Strand, drew their swords upon each other but were separated before any damage resulted to either. For this they were both committed to the Fleet, but were released in a few days. Within ten days of this incident Essex and his party, baffled in their efforts to placate the Queen, and driven to desperation by the policy of their opponents, broke into open revolt and attempted forcibly to gain an audience with the Queen, thus effectually playing into their enemies' hands and completely ruining their own cause. Within a little over two weeks Essex had gone to the block and Southampton to the Tower, where he remained until the accession of James in 1603.

Between the winter of 1599 and the spring of 1601, Southampton was so involved in Essex's trouble and its resulting intrigues that it is evident Shakespeare and he came rarely into contact. Between March 1601, the date of Southampton's imprisonment, and April 1603, the date of his release, whatever intercourse they may have had, if any, must necessarily have been limited. It is evident, however, that their friendship was renewed in 1603, and that to Southampton's influence in the new Court was due the favour shown by James to Shakespeare and his company of players, who were thereafter known as "His Majesty's Servants," their leaders, including Shakespeare, receiving the appointments of Grooms of the Privy Chamber.

Book VII. When, in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
 Sonnet i. I all alone beweepe my outcast state,
 And trouble deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
 And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
 Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
 Featured like him, like him with friends possess'd,
 Desiring this man's art and that man's scope,
 Thorpe (xix.) With what I most enjoy contented least ;
 Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
 Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
 Like to the lark at break of day arising
 From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate ;
 For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings
 That then I scorn to change my state with kings.

Book VII. As a decrepit father takes delight
 Sonnet ii. To see his active child do deeds of youth,
 So I, made lame by fortune's dearest spite,
 Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth ;
 For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
 Or any of these all, or all, or more,
 Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit,
 Thorpe (xxvii.) I make my love engrafted to this store :
 So then I am not lame, poor, nor despised,
 Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give
 That I in thy abundance am sufficed
 And by a part of all thy glory live.

Look, what is best, that best I wish in thee :
 This wish I have ; then ten times happy me !

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Book VII. Let me confess that we two must be twain,
 Sonnet iii. Although our undivided loves are one :
 So shall those blots that do with me remain,
 Without thy help, by me be borne alone.
 In our two loves there is but one respect,
 Though in our lives a separable spite,
 (Thorpe Which though it alter not love's sole effect,
 xxxvi.) Yet doth it steal sweet hours from love's delight.
 I may not evermore acknowledge thee,
 Lest my bewailed guilt should do thee shame,
 Nor thou with public kindness honour me,
 Unless thou take that honour from thy name :
 But do not so ; I love thee in such sort,
 As thou being mine, mine is thy good report.

Book VII. O, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
 Sonnet iv. The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
 That did not better for my life provide
 Than public means which public manners breeds.
 Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
 And almost thence my nature is subdued
 (Thorpe To what it works in, like the dyer's hand :
 cxi.) Pity me then and wish I were renew'd ;
 Whilst, like a willing patient, I will drink
 Potions of eisel 'gainst my strong infection ;
 No bitterness that I will bitter think,
 Nor double penance, to correct correction.
 Pity me then, dear friend, and I assure ye
 Even that your pity is enough to cure me.

BOOK VII. Your love and pity doth the impression fill

Sonnet v.

Which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon my brow ;
 For what care I who calls me well or ill,
 So you o'er-green my bad, my good allow ?
 You are my all the world, and I must strive
 To know my shames and praises from your tongue ;
 None else to me, nor I to none alive,
 That my steel'd sense or changes right or wrong.
 In so profound abysm I throw all care
 Of others' voices, that my adder's sense
 To critic and to flatterer stopped are.
 Mark how with my neglect I do dispense :

(Thorpe
cxii.)

You are so strongly in my purpose bred
 That all the world besides methinks are dead.

BOOK VII. That you were once unkind befriends me now,

Sonnet vi.

And for that sorrow which I then did feel
 Needs must I under my transgression bow,
 Unless my nerves were brass or hammer'd steel.
 For if you were by my unkindness shaken,
 As I by yours, you've pass'd a hell of time ;
 And I, a tyrant, have no leisure taken
 To weigh how once I suffer'd in your crime.
 O, that our night of woe might have remember'd
 My deepest sense, how hard true sorrow hits,
 And soon to you, as you to me, then tender'd
 The humble salve which wounded bosoms fits !

(Thorpe
cxx.)

But that your trespass now becomes a fee ;
 Mine ransoms yours, and yours must ransom me.

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BOOK VII. 'Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed,
 Sonnet vii. When not to be receives reproach of being ;
 And the just pleasure lost, which is so deemed
 Not by our feeling, but by others' seeing :
 For why should others' false adulterate eyes
 Give salutation to my sportive blood ?
 (Thorpe Or on my frailties why are frailer spies,
 cxxi.) Which in their wills count bad what I think good ?
 No, I am that I am, and they that level
 At my abuses reckon up their own :
 I may be straight, though they themselves be bevel ;
 By their rank thoughts my deeds must not be shown ;
 Unless this general evil they maintain,
 All men are bad and in their badness reign.

BOOK VII. The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
 Sonnet Is lust in action ; and till action, lust
 viii. Is perjured, murderous, bloody, full of blame,
 Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust ;
 Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight ;
 Past reason hunted ; and no sooner had,
 (Thorpe Past reason hated, as a swallowed bait,
 cxxix.) On purpose laid to make the taker mad :
 Mad in pursuit, and in possession so ;
 Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme ;
 A bliss in proof, and proved, a very woe ;
 Before, a joy proposed ; behind, a dream.
 All this the world well knows ; yet none knows well
 To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.

Book VII. What potions have I drunk of Siren tears,
 Sonnet ix. Distill'd from limbecks foul as hell within,
 Applying fears to hopes and hopes to fears,
 Still losing when I saw myself to win !
 What wretched errors hath my heart committed,
 Whilst it hath thought itself so blessed never !
 (Thorpe How have mine eyes out of their spheres been fitted,
 cxix.) In the distraction of this madding fever !
 O benefit of ill ! now I find true
 That better is by evil still made better ;
 And ruin'd love, when it is built anew,
 Grows fairer than at first, more strong, far greater.
 So I return rebuked to my content,
 And gain by ill thrice more than I have spent.

Book VII. Like as, to make our appetites more keen,
 Sonnet x. With eager compounds we our palate urge ;
 As, to prevent our maladies unseen,
 We sicken to shun sickness when we purge ;
 Even so, being full of your ne'er-cloying sweetness,
 To bitter sauces did I frame my feeding ;
 (Thorpe And sick of welfare found a kind of meetness
 cxviii.) To be diseased, ere that there was true needing.
 Thus policy in love, to anticipate
 The ills that were not, grew to faults assured,
 And brought to medicine a healthful state,
 Which, rank of goodness, would by ill be cured :
 But thence I learn, and find the lesson true,
 Drugs poison him that so fell sick of you.

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BOOK VII. Accuse me thus : that I have scanted all

Sonnet xi.

Wherein I should your great deserts repay,
 Forgot upon your dearest love to call,
 Whereto all bonds do tie me day by day ;
 That I have frequent been with unknown minds,
 And given to time your own dear-purchased right ;
 That I have hoisted sail to all the winds
 Which should transport me farthest from your sight.
 Book both my wilfulness and errors down,
 And on just proof surmise accumulate ;
 Bring me within the level of your frown,
 But shoot not at me in your waken'd hate ;
 Since my appeal says I did strive to prove
 The constancy and virtue of your love.

(Thorpe
cxvii.)

BOOK VII. Alas, 'tis true I have gone here and there,

Sonnet xii.

And made myself a motley to the view,
 Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,
 Made old offences of affections new ;
 Most true it is that I have look'd on truth
 Askance and strangely : but, by all above,
 These blanches gave my heart another youth,
 And worse essays proved thee my best of love.
 Now all is done, save what shall have no end :
 Mine appetite I never more will grind
 On newer proof, to try an older friend,
 A god in love, to whom I am confined.

(Thorpe
cx.)

 Then give me welcome, next my heaven the best,
 Even to thy pure and most most loving breast.

Book VII. O, never say that I was false of heart,
 Sonnet
 xiii. Though absence seem'd my flame to qualify.
 As easy might I from myself depart
 As from my soul, which in thy breast doth lie :
 That is my home of love : if I have ranged,
 Like him that travels, I return again ;
 (Thorpe Just to the time, not with the time exchanged,
 cix.) So that myself bring water for my stain.
 Never believe, though in my nature reign'd
 All frailties that besiege all kinds of blood,
 That it could so preposterously be stain'd,
 To leave for nothing all thy sum of good ;
 For nothing this wide universe I call,
 Save thou, my rose ; in it thou art my all.

Book VII. Thy gift, thy tables, are within my brain
 Sonnet
 xiv. Full character'd with lasting memory,
 Which shall above that idle rank remain,
 Beyond all date, even to eternity :
 Or, at the least, so long as brain and heart
 Have faculty by nature to subsist ;
 (Thorpe Till each to razed oblivion yield his part
 cxii.) Of thee, thy record never can be miss'd.
 That poor retention could not so much hold,
 Nor need I tallies thy dear love to score ;
 Therefore to give them from me was I bold,
 To trust those tables that receive thee more :
 To keep an adjunct to remember thee
 Were to import forgetfulness in me.

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BOOK VII. Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
Sonnet xv. Even those that said I could not love you dearer :
Yet then my judgement knew no reason why
My most full flame should afterwards burn clearer.
But reckoning Time, whose million'd accidents
Creep in 'twixt vows, and change decrees of kings,
(Thorpe Tan sacred beauty, blunt the sharp'st intents,
cxv.) Divert strong minds to the course of altering things ;
Alas, why, fearing of Time's tyranny,
Might I not then say " Now I love you best,"
When I was certain o'er incertainty,
Crowning the present, doubting of the rest ?
Love is a babe ; then might I not say so,
To give full growth to that which still doth grow ?

BOOK VII. No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change :
Sonnet Thy pyramids built up with newer might
xvi. To me are nothing novel, nothing strange ;
They are but dressings of a former sight.
Our dates are brief, and therefore we admire
What thou dost foist upon us that is old ;
(Thorpe And rather make them born to our desire
cxxxiii.) Than think that we before have heard them told.
Thy registers and thee I both defy,
Not wondering at the present nor the past,
For thy records and what we see doth lie,
Made more or less by thy continual haste.
This I do vow, and this shall ever be,
I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee.

BOOK VII. Let me not to the marriage of true minds

Sonnet
xvii.

Admit impediments. Love is not love

Which alters when it alteration finds,

Or bends with the remover to remove :

O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark,

That looks on tempests and is never shaken ;

(Thorpe
cxvi.)

It is the star to every wandering bark,

Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.

Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks

Within his bending sickle's compass come ;

Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,

But bears it out even to the edge of doom.

 If this be error and upon me proved,

 I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

BOOK VII. Were't aught to me I bore the canopy,

Sonnet
xviii.

With my extern the outward honouring,

Or laid great bases for eternity,

Which prove more short than waste or ruining ?

Have I not seen dwellers on form and favour

Lose all, and more, by paying too much rent,

(Thorpe
cxxxv.)

For compound sweet forgoing simple savour,

Pitiful thrivers, in their gazing spent ?

No, let me be obsequious in thy heart,

And take thou my oblation, poor but free,

Which is not mix'd with seconds, knows no art

But mutual render, only me for thee.

 Hence, thou suborn'd informer ! a true soul

 When most impeach'd stands least in thy control.

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Book VII. If my dear love were but the child of state,
Sonnet xix. It might for Fortune's bastard be unfather'd,
As subject to Time's love or to Time's hate,
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gather'd.
No, it was builded far from accident ;
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
(Thorpe Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,
cxxxiv.) Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls :
It fears not policy, that heretic,
Which works on leases of short-number'd hours,
But all alone stands hugely politic,
That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.
To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime.

Book VII. Let those who are in favour with their stars
Sonnet xx. Of public honour and proud titles boast,
Whilst I, whom fortune of such triumph bars,
Unlook'd for joy in that I honour most.
Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread
But as the marigold at the sun's eye,
(Thorpe And in themselves their pride lies buried,
xxv.) For at a frown they in their glory die.
The painful warrior famoused for fight,
After a thousand victories once foil'd,
Is from the book of honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toil'd :
Then happy I, that love and am beloved
Where I may not remove nor be removed.

CHAPTER XVII

A CONSIDERATION OF THE MR. W. H. OF THORPE'S DEDICATION AND OF THE SONNETS TO THE DARK LADY

AS the inclusion of the three parts of *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus* by the publishers of the Folio among Shakespeare's plays has done much to obscure a true realisation of the early stages of his literary development, so the dedication of *Shakespeare's Sonnets* in 1609 by the publisher, Thomas Thorpe, to an unknown Mr. W. H. has proved the most fruitful source of misconception regarding their hidden story. Had the Sonnets appeared without a dedication it is unlikely that there ever would have been a Pembroke theory, and probable that the textual and spiritual links between the sonnets and plays in their progressive periods of composition would long ago have been elaborated by the text critics who have done such excellent work in elucidating the chronology of the plays, but who have evidently been deterred from a consideration of the Sonnets by the great divergences in theory regarding them.

So much thought has been expended on the solution of the identity of Mr. W. H. of the dedication that comparatively little has been given to an understanding of the Sonnets, though most of the suggestions for the identification of Mr. W. H. that have been made are mere surmises unsupported, as a rule, by any evidence other than identity of initials. Dr. Farmer suggested Shakespeare's nephew, William Hart, who unfortunately for this theory was only

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nine years old when the Sonnets were published. Tyrwhitt proposed a Mr. William Hughes, taking his cue from the peculiar lettering of a line in the 20th sonnet :

A man in hew, all Hews in his controlling.

This I have shown to be an anagram of the Earl of Southampton's name and title. Dr. Drake, who first suggested the Earl of Southampton as the patron of the Sonnets, offered no solution for the enigmatic initials. A Mr. Bright in 1818 first suggested William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, but was anticipated in the public announcement of his supposed discovery by Mr. Boaden in 1832, who, however, advanced no logical evidence in its support. The acceptance which this theory received for many years was largely due to the fact that Heming and Condell in issuing the First Folio and dedicating it to the Earl of Pembroke and his brother, the Earl of Montgomery, wrote : " But since your lordships have beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles something, heretofore ; and have prosecuted both them, and their Authour living, with so much favour, etc.," from which, when coupled with the identity of initials, it was inferred that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was the patron addressed in the Sonnets.

In 1889, Mr. Thomas Tyler further developed the Pembroke theory by proposing Mistress Mary Fitton, one of the ladies of the Court, as the " dark lady " of the Sonnets. The foregoing evidence and argument indicating the composition of the Sonnets in sequences between 1592 and 1598 demolishes this theory, as the Earl of Pembroke did not come to Court until the sonnet period had about ended. Many other known, and unknown, contemporaries who happened to have the initials W. H. have from time to time been proposed. The name of Sir William Harvey, South-

ampton's second stepfather, has been proposed on account of his relationship. A German pundit, hight Herr Bernstorff, brilliantly suggests that Mr. W. H. stands for Mr. William Himself, while Sir Sidney Lee lifts momentarily from oblivion an obscure printer named William Hall.

Mr. Gerald Massey, who plainly recognised and elucidated the continued friendship between Shakespeare and Southampton, and who hovered nearer to the truth than any writer before or since, argues that the Sonnets were written by Shakespeare for Southampton and others, to be used for purposes of their own, and that the collection from these several sources in 1609 was dedicated by the publisher to Pembroke, who he supposed collected them. While Mr. Massey's conclusions regarding the Sonnets are very arbitrarily forced, he yet recognised Shakespeare's prolonged relations with Southampton and his friends, and draws interesting sketches of some of their personalities.

In preceding chapters it has been made evident that seven *books* of sonnets were written to the Earl of Southampton between 1592 and 1598, and that sonnets were written to the "dark lady" also during these years. It has been demonstrated as well that Florio, Roydon and Chapman were cognizant of Shakespeare's relations with Southampton and the "dark lady," and of the fact that he wrote sonnets to them. The attacks made on Shakespeare by these scholars in acted plays and in publications, as well as Shakespeare's defence and counter attacks of the same nature, have also been shown. It is unlikely then to have been mere coincidence that the Sonnets were issued in 1609 by a publisher who was publishing books for Chapman and Jonson at the same time ; who dedicated two books to Florio a year later and who never before, nor afterwards,

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published anything written by Shakespeare. Is it not evident that Thorpe was a friend of the enemy?

In 1608, Thorpe published Jonson's *Masque of Blackness and Beauty*, and Chapman's *Biron*, and that both of these issues were made with the authors' sanction is proved by the fact that both contain their personal dedications.

When the nature of the third *book* of sonnets and of those to the "dark lady" is remembered, and their incomplete and disordered sequences borne in mind, it becomes evident that Shakespeare had no hand in their publication. When it is shown, however, that an unusually heated stage of the continuous warfare waged by the scholars against Shakespeare had developed in 1609, and that both Chapman and Jonson attack him in this year; that Roydon again issues, or tries to issue, *Willobie his Avisa*; and that Florio is complimented by Thorpe by the dedication of two books to him a year later, and evidently in recognition of benefits received, the inference is warranted that the publication of the Sonnets was brought about by the collusion of the scholars. In this light it is impossible that Thomas Thorpe could have been ignorant of the identities of the patron and the "dark lady," and the only deduction possible regarding the Mr. W. H. of the dedication is that Thorpe and his employers deliberately transposed the initials of Southampton's name and prefixed them by "Mr." in order to mystify a curious public; an intention in which they have been eminently successful.

In the light of Ben Jonson's collusion with Chapman, Marston and Florio against Shakespeare, already suggested and further displayed in a later chapter, it becomes evident that when he published his *Epigrams*, which include the one directed against Shakespeare as Poet-ape, "who would

be thought our chief," and dedicated them to the Earl of Pembroke, that he alluded to Thorpe's ciphered dedication of *Shakespeare's Sonnets* to the Earl of Southampton, and endeavoured to take another fling at Shakespeare in the words "*while you cannot change your merit I dare not change your title . . . when I made them I had nothing in my conscience to expressing of which I did need a cipher.*"

Though certain critics still argue about the sense in which the word "begetter" is used in Thorpe's dedication, no argument will obviate the facts that Thorpe wishes Mr. W. H. "that eternitie promised by our ever living poet"; that Shakespeare promises eternity only to the Earl of Southampton, to whom he wrote his verses, and that Thorpe through his connection at this time with Florio, Chapman and Jonson must have been fully aware of that fact. Shakespeare was now too well known and new matter from his pen too desirable to publishers for Thorpe not to have realised the commercial value of what he was publishing, or for Florio, Jonson and Chapman to have remained in ignorance of his possession of these MSS., connected with him as they were at this time, even though they should have had no hand in securing them for him. The inference that they colluded in the publication is, however, very strong, and may be made conclusive by the evidence to follow.

Let us now consider the manner in which Florio could have secured the MSS. of Shakespeare's Sonnets from their original recipients and *from two such widely separated sources*. It is very unlikely that the MSS. of these two series of sonnets, one written to a nobleman and one to a tavern-keeper's wife, living in different parts of England, could come together by accident. There was undoubtedly intention in bringing them together and in publishing them.

I have already displayed Florio's connection with the Earl of Southampton and suggested their mutual acquaintance with Mistress Davenant as early as the year 1592, and Florio's continued acquaintance in later years. In view of the poetical merits of the sonnets to Southampton, the comparatively conventional nature of six out of seven of these *books* and the incompleteness of the only *book*—the third—to the publication of which there may have been any objection and from which, on account of their too indicative or private nature, the eight missing sonnets were probably removed beforehand, it is not difficult to realise how Florio could secure the sonnets for publication by assuring Southampton that his identity would be hidden by a purposely misleading dedication. It is unlikely that the Earl would suspect a motive antagonistic to the writer, and probable that in acquiescing in the publication—if he did—that he may have thought he was paying a compliment to Shakespeare. Seeing that the sonnets were from eleven to seventeen years old when they were published in 1609, and that they had passed from hand to hand in MS. form during these years, it is possible that Southampton was not consulted regarding their publication or that Florio in bringing about their issue hid from him the fact that Shakespeare's sonnets to the "dark lady" would be issued with them. The fact that the sonnets to the "dark lady" were issued with those written to Southampton, and the correlative light which certain of them throw upon the sonnets of the third *book* of the latter series, would seem to infer that Southampton was not consulted regarding their publication. There are a number of textual indications, however, which lead me to believe that Thorpe worked from Shakespeare's original but incomplete, disarranged

and damaged MSS. There can be no doubt that Florio was thoroughly conversant with all of Shakespeare's sonnets to Southampton for years before their publication, and that it was through his means that Roydon and Chapman obtained knowledge of them. Let us now inquire how he would be likely to secure the sonnets written to the "dark lady."

In the first issue of *Willobie his Avis* in 1594, Avis is depicted as successfully repulsing the approaches of her numerous admirers. Even H. W., who represents Southampton, retires discomfited from the field. It is evident that in doing this Roydon was reflecting the facts of the case at that period. Taking the story Roydon tells in 1594 at its face value neither the relations of H. W. nor W. S. with Avis at that time warrant the disagreeable inference usually drawn by critics regarding Shakespeare's self-abnegation in the third *book* of sonnets and the unnatural surrender by Valentine of Silvia to Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The spiritual exaltation of the exquisite lyric, "Who is Silvia?" precludes the existence of reprehensible relations between Shakespeare and Silvia's original at that date.

In the second edition of *Willobie his Avis*, which was published in 1596 to coincide with the publication of *Penelope's Complaint* in the same year, the reputation of Avis is covertly assailed and in such a manner as to make it apparent that there was some basis of truth for Roydon's insinuations. In some prefatory verses and prose matter prefixed to *Penelope's Complaint* there are suggestive hints impugning Avis's good name, as well as in verses appended to the new issue of *Willobie his Avis* entitled *The Victorie of English Chastitie*. The sixth *book* of sonnets, the composition of which I have indicated between 1596 and 1597, reveals on Shakespeare's part a depressed and re-

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morseful spirit, the cause of which is made clear in the confessions of the seventh *book* of sonnets, written in the following year when a climax was reached in his relations with the "dark lady." This latter phase of the affair is also reflected in *Troilus and Cressida*, which I shall demonstrate was produced in 1598, making it apparent that there was a disagreeable ending to Shakespeare's intimacy with this woman at the end of 1597, or early in 1598. The extreme bitterness which now developed between Shakespeare and Florio, and the nature of Shakespeare's dramatic reflections upon both Florio and the "dark lady" in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Henry IV., Part II.*, as well as the light thrown upon these reflections by the passage already quoted from Lady Southampton's letter to her husband and other evidence to follow later, *lead me to conclude that Florio's "Mistress Dame Pintpot" was none other than Mistress Anne Davenant, who having succumbed to the temptations of her position as the popular hostess of a fashionable Oxford tavern, and going from bad to worse, had finally left her husband and come to London, where at least for a time she lived as Florio's mistress.* Doll Tearsheet appears for the first time in the second part of *Henry IV.*, which was written late in 1598, and after *Troilus and Cressida*, in which play in Cressida's perfidy Shakespeare depicts the beginning of this woman's new relations with Florio. In Doll Tearsheet's relations with Falstaff is shown its continuance towards the end of the year. Lady Southampton's letter reports the birth of Falstaff's son in July 1599.

It is evident that Anne Davenant died shortly after this, as John Davenant was married again within a year or two, his first child being born in 1601; six others following at intervals of less than two years.

In the light of the foregoing facts and deductions the manner in which Florio is likely to have secured Shakespeare's sonnets to Mistress Davenant becomes evident. Reflections of this phase of the sonnet story in anti-Shakespearean plays by Marston, Chapman and Jonson, which shall later be displayed, give added credence to this conclusion.

It is not improbable that Shakespeare and Anne Sachfeilde came into contact before her marriage to Davenant, which took place some time between October 1590, when mention of her in her father's will shows her still unmarried, and July 1592, when the Houghs took out their leases for the Crosse Inn and Tavern in order to sublet one or both of them to Davenant, who evidently undertook the management of one or both at this time. It is probable that Davenant conducted either the Crosse Inn or the Tavern shortly before this time. We may then date Shakespeare's first acquaintance with this woman some time in 1590-2. I have already shown that Shakespeare and Southampton's intimate acquaintance commenced in the autumn of 1591, and that every original poem and play composed by Shakespeare after that time, and as late as 1598, in some manner reflects his personality or interests. There are two undoubtedly early plays, however, which do not reflect the influence of Southampton or his affairs, the original composition of which I consequently ascribe to a period antedating the autumn of 1591. One of these is *King John*, which I have argued was composed with Sir John Perrot's conditions in mind before, or about the time, he was sent to the Tower in 1591. Perrot's liberty had been restrained for some time before this, he having been practically a prisoner at Lord Burghley's house for many months. Before I had identified the Crosse Inn I sug-

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gested that this play reflected Shakespeare's early acquaintance with Mistress Davenant as the hostess of the George Inn, in the lines :

Mount, chevaliers ! to arms !
Saint George, that swinged the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horse back at mine hostess' door,
Teach us some fence !

It now occurs to me that they reflect either his acquaintance with the George Inn at Shoreditch, which was situated near the Theatre, or his acquaintance with Anne Sachfeilde before her marriage.

The other play, the composition of which, for the reason given, I date before the autumn of 1591, is *The Comedy of Errors*. In this I find no reflection of Southampton nor of Florio, but a very palpable, and evidently early, reflection of Shakespeare's acquaintance with Anne Sachfeilde, which antedates the beginning of Southampton's or Florio's influence upon the subconscious autobiography here unfolding.

It is not unlikely that *The Comedy of Errors* was one of the plays performed by Shakespeare's company at Cowdray or Tichfield in the autumn of 1591, and that it was written for that occasion. It is evidently one of the plays composed primarily for private or Court performance. It is the shortest of all the plays, and though revised and probably slightly enlarged in 1594, at about the time that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was written for Lady Southampton's marriage to Sir Thomas Heneage, was probably not frequently presented upon the public stage. All plays composed for private or Court presentation were shorter than those intended for public purposes ; but such plays proving popular when publicly presented, being frequently revived and revised, naturally grew in bulk, as in the case of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which it is reported was

written in less than two weeks and at the request of the Queen, who having been taken with the part of Falstaff in *Henry IV.* is said to have expressed a desire to see the same character portrayed in love. The first Quarto of this play, which is evidently the form in which it was originally presented at Court in 1599, contains less than half the number of lines in the revised Folio version.

In dating the original composition of *The Comedy of Errors* in 1591 for the reasons given above, I am in agreement with the majority of authoritative text critics who, however, base their chronology entirely upon textual and stylistic grounds.

In Act III. Scene i., when Antipholus of Ephesus is refused entry to his own house and in order to prevent a scandal is urged by Balthazar not to force admission, which he has threatened, he answers :

You have prevail'd : I will depart in quiet,
And, in despite of mirth, mean to be merry.
I know a wench of excellent discourse,
Pretty and witty ; wild, and yet, too, gentle :
There will we dine. This woman that I mean,
My wife—but, I protest, without desert—
Hath oftentimes upbraided me withal :
To her will we to dinner. (*To Ang.*) Get you home,
And fetch the chain ; by this I know 'tis made :
Bring it, I pray you, to the Porpentine ;
For there's the house : that chain will I bestow—
Be it for nothing but to spite my wife—
Upon mine hostess there : good sir, make haste.
Since mine own doors refuse to entertain me,
I'll knock elsewhere, to see if they'll disdain me.

ANG. I'll meet you at that place some hour hence.

ANT. E. Do so. This jest shall cost me some expense.

It has previously been suggested by critics who could conceive the possibility that Shakespeare might make dramatic use of his own experience with life, that in Adriana's nagging jealousy of her youthful husband, he reflected his

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own marital experiences at the period the play was written. It is probable that in the hostess of the Porpentine—

. . . a wench of excellent discourse,
Pretty and witty; wild, and yet, too, gentle—

we have an early reflection of Anne Sachfeilde, who, after her marriage, Aubrey and Anthony Wood report as remembered to have been "a very beautiful woman and of conversation extremely agreeable."

The next play in order of composition in which I find any reflection of this woman's personality, and of Shakespeare's developing interest in her, is *Love's Labour's Lost*, where she appears as Rosaline. It is impossible now to tell whether or not this character pertained to the play in its earliest form (1591-2). The bulk of Rosaline's present characterisation was evidently introduced in 1595, when *Love's Labour's Lost* was revised in answer to Chapman's and Roydon's attacks of this and the preceding years. The ecstatic rhapsodies of love in this play and in *Romeo and Juliet*, composed later in 1594, indicate the high tide of Shakespeare's infatuation for this woman as at this period, while certain critical touches regarding her—such as,

A whitely wanton with a velvet brow,
With two pitch balls stuck in her face for eyes—

were evidently introduced at the final revision of the play late in 1598, while Shakespeare was yet smarting from the unpleasant circumstances which brought about his disillusionment.

In 1596, when Roydon issued *Penelope's Complaint* and reissued *Willobie his Avis*, reports of Avis's unchastity had spread abroad, and by the end of 1596 or the beginning of 1597, we may infer from the evidence that she had left her husband and was living in London.

Though we now possess only twenty-four to twenty-six of the sonnets written by Shakespeare to the "dark lady"—and these are possibly the remains of three or four twenty-sonnet sequences—their textual and spiritual links with the progressive stages of Shakespeare's interest in her, reflected in the plays as well as in certain of the sonnets to Southampton, afford clues by which their chronology may be reasonably approximated.

While the following sonnet appears to be an individual exercise and does not seem to be connected with any of the later groups I shall indicate, it is possibly the remains of a sequence now lost, written at an early period of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the "dark lady." Ben Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour* seems to allude critically to this particular sonnet, and makes several references of a satirical nature to Shakespeare which will be examined in a later chapter.

SONNET CXXVIII.

How oft, when thou, my music, music play'st,
 Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
 With thy sweet fingers, when thou gently sway'st
 The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,
 Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap
 To kiss the tender inward of thy hand,
 Whilst my poor lips, which should that harvest reap,
 At the wood's boldness by thee blushing stand!
 To be so tickled, they would change their state
 And situation with those dancing chips,
 O'er whom thy fingers walk with gentle gait,
 Making dead wood more blest than living lips.

Since saucy jacks so happy are in this,
 Give them thy fingers, me thy lips to kiss.

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The fact that Ben Jonson reflects knowledge of this sonnet gives evidence that the literary clique antagonistic to Shakespeare, with which he was affiliated at the time he wrote *Every Man out of his Humour*, had possession of the "dark lady" sonnets some years before their publication.

MACI. Her ingenuity is excellent, sir.

FAST. You see the subject of her sweet fingers there—— Oh, she tickles it so, that—— She makes it laugh most divinely ;— I'll tell you a good jest now, and yourself shall say it's a good one : I have wished myself to be that instrument, I think, a thousand times, and not so few, by heaven !——

The following sonnets are evidently a portion of a sequence to Mistress Davenant written in 1593, at the same time as the third *book* of the series to the Earl of Southampton. They plainly refer to the triangular imbroglio of that period.

SONNET CXLIII.

Lo, as a careful housewife runs to catch
One of her feather'd creatures broke away,
Sets down her babe, and makes all swift dispatch
In pursuit of the thing she would have stay ;
Whilst her neglected child holds her in chase,
Cries to catch her whose busy care is bent
To follow that which flies before her face,
Not prizing her poor infant's discontent :
So runn'st thou after that which flies from thee,
Whilst I thy babe chase thee afar behind ;
But if thou catch thy hope, turn back to me,
And play the mother's part, kiss me, be kind :
So will I pray that thou mayst have thy " Will,"
If thou turn back and my loud crying still.

SONNET CXXXVI.

If thy soul check thee that I come so near,
 Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy "Will,"
 And will, thy soul knows, is admitted there ;
 Thus far for love, my love-suit, sweet, fulfil.
 "Will" will fulfil the treasure of thy love,
 Ay, fill it full with wills, and my will one.
 In things of great receipt with ease we prove
 Among a number one is reckon'd none :
 Then in the number let me pass untold,
 Though in thy store's account I one must be ;
 For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold
 That nothing me, a something sweet to thee :
 Make but my name thy love, and love that still,
 And then thou lovest me, for my name is "Will."

SONNET CXXXV.

Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy "Will,"
 And "Will" to boot, and "Will" in overplus ;
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.
 Wilt thou, whose will is large and spacious,
 Not once vouchsafe to hide my will in thine ?
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine ?
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,
 And in abundance addeth to his store ;
 So thou, being rich in "Will," add to thy "Will"
 One will of mine, to make thy large "Will" more.
 Let no unkind, no fair beseechers kill ;
 Think all but one, and me in that one "Will."

SONNET CXLIV.

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
 Which like two spirits do suggest me still :
 The better angel is a man right fair,
 The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill.
 To win me soon to hell, my female evil
 Tempteth my better angel from my side,
 And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,
 Wooing his purity with her foul pride.
 And whether that my angel be turn'd fiend
 Suspect I may, yet not directly tell ;
 But being both from me, both to each friend,
 I guess one angel in another's hell :
 Yet this shall I ne'er know, but live in doubt,
 Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

SONNET CXXXIV.

So, now I have confess'd that he is thine
 And I myself am mortgaged to thy will,
 Myself I'll forfeit, so that other mine
 Thou wilt restore, to be my comfort still :
 But thou wilt not, nor he will not be free,
 For thou art covetous and he is kind ;
 He learn'd but surety-like to write for me,
 Under that bond that him as fast doth bind.
 The statute of thy beauty thou wilt take,
 Thou usurer, that put'st forth all to use,
 And sue a friend came debtor for my sake ;
 So him I lose through my unkind abuse.
 Him have I lost ; thou hast both him and me :
 He pays the whole, and yet am I not free.

SONNET CXXXIII.

Beshrew that heart that makes my heart to groan
 For that deep wound it gives my friend and me !
 Is't not enough to torture me alone,
 But slave to slavery my sweet'st friend must be ?
 Me from myself thy cruel eye hath taken,
 And my next self thou harder hast engrossed :
 Of him, myself, and thee, I am forsaken ;
 A torment thrice threefold thus to be crossed.
 Prison my heart in thy steel bosom's ward,
 But then my friend's heart let my poor heart bail ;
 Whoe'er keeps me, let my heart be his guard ;
 Thou canst not then use rigour in my gaol :
 And yet thou wilt ; for I, being pent in thee,
 Perforce am thine, and all that is in me.

In the following sonnets, which are also the remains of a sequence, those numbered 21 and 130 by Thorpe palpably reflect Shakespeare's knowledge of Chapman's *Amorous Zodiac*, which was published in 1595.¹ It is therefore evident that they were written after the composition of that poem, though not necessarily after its publication, as it is probable that Shakespeare as reader for Southampton saw the *Amorous Zodiac* in manuscript previous to its publication. I have argued that this and other poems by Chapman were submitted to Southampton in, or about,

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, p. 63.

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1594-5, in an endeavour to secure his patronage. The last sonnet in this group, numbered 141 in Thorpe's order, plainly refers to another poem of Chapman's published at this date, entitled *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. I therefore date this group in, or about, 1594-5, and at about the same time as I have indicated for the fifth, or "rival" book of sonnets written to Southampton, which I have shown to be Shakespeare's answer to Chapman's solicitation of his patron's favour.

SONNET CXXVII.

In the old age black was not counted fair,
Or if it were, it bore not beauty's name ;
But now is black beauty's successive heir,
And beauty slander'd with a bastard shame :
For since each hand hath put on nature's power,
Fairing the foul with art's false borrow'd face,
Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy bower,
But is profaned, if not lives in disgrace.
Therefore my mistress' eyes are raven black,
Her eyes so suited, and they mourners seem
At such who, not born fair, no beauty lack,
Slandering creation with a false esteem :
Yet so they mourn, becoming of their woe,
That every tongue says beauty should look so.

SONNET CXXXII.

Thine eyes I love, and they, as pitying me,
 Knowing thy heart torments me with disdain,
 Have put on black, and loving mourners be,
 Looking with pretty ruth upon my pain.
 And truly not the morning sun of heaven
 Better becomes the grey cheeks of the east,
 Nor that full star that ushers in the even
 Doth half that glory to the sober west,
 As those two mourning eyes become thy face :
 O, let it then as well beseem thy heart
 To mourn for me, since mourning doth thee grace,
 And suit thy pity like in every part.

Then will I swear beauty herself is black,
 And all they foul that thy complexion lack.

SONNET XXI.

So is it not with me as with that Muse
 Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,
 Who heaven itself for ornament doth use
 And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
 Making a couplement of proud compare,
 With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,
 With April's first-born flowers, and all things rare
 That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems.
 O, let me, true in love, but truly write,
 And then believe me, my love is as fair
 As any mother's child, though not so bright
 As those gold candles fix'd in heaven's air :

Let them say more that like of hearsay well ;
 I will not praise that purpose not to sell.

SONNET CXXX.

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun ;
 Coral is far more red than her lips' red :
 If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun ;
 If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.
 I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
 But no such roses see I in her cheeks ;
 And in some perfumes is there more delight
 Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.
 I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
 That music hath a far more pleasing sound :
 I grant I never saw a goddess go,
 My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground :
 And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
 As any she belied with false compare.

SONNET CXXXI.

Thou art as tyrannous, so as thou art,
 As those whose beauties proudly make them cruel ;
 For well thou know'st to my dear dotting heart
 Thou art the fairest and most precious jewel.
 Yet, in good faith, some say that thee behold,
 Thy face hath not the power to make love groan :
 To say they err I dare not be so bold,
 Although I swear it to myself alone.
 And to be sure that is not false I swear,
 A thousand groans, but thinking on thy face,
 One on another's neck, do witness bear
 Thy black is fairest in my judgement's place.
 In nothing art thou black save in thy deeds,
 And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds.

SONNET CXLVIII.

O, me, what eyes hath Love put in my head,
 Which have no correspondence with true sight !
 Or, if they have, where is my judgement fled,
 That censures falsely what they see aright ?
 If that be fair whereon my false eyes dote,
 What means the world to say it is not so ?
 If it be not, then love doth well denote
 Love's eye is not so true as all men's : no,
 How can it ? O, how can Love's eye be true,
 That is so vex'd with watching and with tears ?
 No marvel then, though I mistake my view ;
 The sun itself sees not till heaven clears.
 O cunning Love ! with tears thou keep'st me blind,
 Lest eyes well-seeing thy foul faults should find.

SONNET CXLIX.

Canst thou, O cruel ! say I love thee not,
 When I against myself with thee partake ?
 Do I not think on thee, when I forgot
 Am of myself, all tyrant, for thy sake ?
 Who hateth thee that I do call my friend ?
 On whom frown'st thou that I do fawn upon ?
 Nay, if thou lour'st on me, do I not spend
 Revenge upon myself with present moan ?
 What merit do I in myself respect,
 That is so proud thy service to despise,
 When all my best doth worship thy defect,
 Commanded by the motion of thine eyes ?
 But, love, hate on, for now I know thy mind ;
 Those that can see thou lovest, and I am blind.

SONNET CXLI.

In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes,
 For they in thee a thousand errors note ;
 But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
 Who, in despite of view, is pleased to dote ;
 Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted ;
 Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone,
 Nor taste, nor smell, desire to be invited
 To any sensual feast with thee alone :
 But my five wits nor my five senses can
 Dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee,
 Who leaves unsway'd the likeness of a man,
 Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be :
 Only my plague thus far I count my gain,
 That she that makes me sin awards me pain.

The following sonnets I place as the last of the series to the "dark lady." They distinctly reflect Shakespeare's developing moral consciousness and the resulting spiritual and mental conflict that culminated in the disruption of his relations with this woman. The sonnet second from the last in this group and numbered 140 by Thorpe, presages the catastrophe reflected later in the composition of *Troilus and Cressida*. I therefore date this group in 1596-7, and at about the same period as the sixth *book* written to Southampton, and shortly before the composition of *Troilus and Cressida* and the seventh *book* of sonnets to Southampton.

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The following lines threaten the action he takes in depicting her as Cressida :

If I might teach thee wit, better it were,
 Though not to love, yet, love, to tell me so ;
 As testy sick men, when their deaths be near,
 No news but health from their physicians know ;
 For, if I should despair, I should grow mad,
 And in my madness might speak ill of thee :
 Now this ill-wresting world is grown so bad,
 Mad slanderers by mad ears believed be.
 That I may not be so, nor thou belied,
 Bear thine eyes straight, though thy proud heart go wide.

While I believe the dates I assign for the composition of the sonnets to the "dark lady" are substantiated by their own internal evidence, as well as by the correlative evidence of the *books* written to Southampton, the sequence I give the sonnets in these latter groups is necessarily merely approximated, owing to the fact that most of their contexts are lost.

SONNET CXXXVIII.

When my love swears that she is made of truth,
 I do believe her, though I know she lies,
 That she might think me some untutor'd youth,
 Unlearned in the world's false subtleties.
 Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young,
 Although she knows my days are past the best,
 Simply I credit her false-speaking tongue :
 On both sides thus is simple truth suppress'd.
 But wherefore says she not she is unjust ?
 And wherefore say not I that I am old ?
 O, love's best habit is in seeming trust,
 And age in love loves not to have years told :
 Therefore I lie with her and she with me,
 And in our faults by lies we flatter'd be.

SONNET CLII.

In loving thee thou know'st I am forsworn,
 But thou art twice forsworn, to me love swearing ;
 In act thy bed-vow broke, and new faith torn,
 In vowing new hate after new love bearing.
 But why of two oaths' breach do I accuse thee,
 When I break twenty ? I am perjured most ;
 For all my vows are oaths but to misuse thee,
 And all my honest faith in thee is lost :
 For I have sworn deep oaths of thy deep kindness,
 Oaths of thy love, thy truth, thy constancy ;
 And, to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness,
 Or made them swear against the thing they see ;
 For I have sworn thee fair ; more perjured I,
 To swear against the truth so foul a lie !

SONNET CXLII.

Love is my sin, and thy dear virtue hate,
 Hate of my sin, grounded on sinful loving :
 O, but with mine compare thou thine own state,
 And thou shalt find it merits not reproving ;
 Or, if it do, not from those lips of thine,
 That have profaned their scarlet ornaments
 And seal'd false bonds of love as oft as mine,
 Robb'd others' beds' revenues of their rents.
 Be it lawful I love thee, as thou lovest those
 Whom thine eyes woo as mine importune thee :
 Root pity in thy heart, that, when it grows,
 Thy pity may deserve to pitied be.
 If thou dost seek to have what thou dost hide,
 By self-example mayst thou be denied !

SONNET CXXXIX.

O call not me to justify the wrong
 That thy unkindness lays upon my heart ;
 Wound me not with thine eye, but with thy tongue ;
 Use power with power, and slay me not by art.
 Tell me thou lovest elsewhere ; but in my sight,
 Dear heart, forbear to glance thine eye aside :
 What need'st thou wound with cunning, when thy might
 Is more than my o'er-pressed defence can bide ?
 Let me excuse thee : ah, my love well knows
 Her pretty looks have been mine enemies ;
 And therefore from my face she turns my foes,
 That they elsewhere might dart their injuries :
 Yet do not so ; but since I am near slain,
 Kill me outright with looks, and rid my pain.

SONNET CXXXVII.

Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes,
 That they behold, and see not what they see ?
 They know what beauty is, see where it lies,
 Yet what the best is take the worst to be.
 If eyes, corrupt by over-partial looks,
 Be anchor'd in the bay where all men ride,
 Why of eyes' falsehood hast thou forged hooks,
 Whereto the judgement of my heart is tied ?
 Why should my heart think that a several plot
 Which my heart knows the wide world's common place ?
 Or mine eyes seeing this, say this is not,
 To put fair truth upon so foul a face ?
 In things right true my heart and eyes have erred,
 And to this false plague are they now transferred.

SONNET CL.

O, from what power hast thou this powerful might
 With insufficiency my heart to sway ?
 To make me give the lie to my true sight,
 And swear that brightness doth not grace the day ?
 Whence hast thou this becoming of things ill,
 That in the very refuse of thy deeds
 There is such strength and warrantise of skill,
 That, in my mind, thy worst all best exceeds ?
 Who taught thee how to make me love thee more
 The more I hear and see just cause of hate ?
 O, though I love what others do abhor,
 With others thou shouldst not abhor my state :
 If thy unworthiness raised love in me,
 More worthy I to be beloved of thee.

SONNET CLI.

Love is too young to know what conscience is ;
 Yet who knows not conscience is born of love ?
 Then, gentle cheater, urge not my amiss,
 Lest guilty of my faults thy sweet self prove :
 For, thou betraying me, I do betray
 My nobler part to my gross body's treason ;
 My soul doth tell my body that he may
 Triumph in love ; flesh stays no farther reason,
 But rising at thy name doth point out thee
 As his triumphant prize. Proud of this pride,
 He is contented thy poor drudge to be,
 To stand in thy affairs, fall by thy side.
 No want of conscience hold it that I call
 Her "love" for whose dear love I rise and fall.

SONNET CXL.

Be wise as thou art cruel ; do not press
 My tongue-tied patience with too much disdain ;
 Lest sorrow lend me words, and words express
 The manner of my pity-wanting pain.
 If I might teach thee wit, better it were,
 Though not to love, yet, love, to tell me so ;
 As testy sick men, when their deaths be near,
 No news but health from their physicians know ;
 For, if I should despair, I should grow mad,
 And in my madness might speak ill of thee :
 Now this ill-wresting world is grown so bad,
 Mad slanderers by mad ears believed be.
 That I may not be so, nor thou belied,
 Bear thine eyes straight, though thy proud heart go
 wide.

SONNET CXLVII.

My love is as a fever, longing still
 For that which longer nurseth the disease ;
 Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,
 The uncertain sickly appetite to please.
 My reason, the physician to my love,
 Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,
 Hath left me, and I desperate now approve
 Desire is death, which physic did except.
 Past cure I am, now reason is past care,
 And frantic-mad with evermore unrest ;
 My thoughts and my discourse as madmen's are,
 At random from the truth vainly express'd ;
 For I have sworn thee fair, and thought thee bright,
 Who art as black as hell, as dark as night.

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The two sonnets to follow apparently have no connection in spirit or purpose with any of the sonnets in the sequences hitherto examined, and are plainly two exercises upon the same subject. When analysed in the light of the sonnet story, it appears not improbable that they are the first sonnets that were written by Shakespeare. They plainly lack the ease, technique and verbal felicity of even the first *book* of sonnets written to the Earl of Southampton, and are palpably very early work; the rhyming of "spiritual" with "mistress' thrall," and "well by" with "remedy" indicate a very inceptive stage.

The poetical conceit of Love's brand transforming a well into a thermal spring was not original with Shakespeare, but is very old and, as discovered by Herr Hertzberg in 1878,¹ was probably originally derived from a poem by the Byzantine Marianus, in about the fifth century. This was translated into Latin as early as 1529. Shakespeare's immediate source is not known, but it is evident that he derived his knowledge from some Latin or English translation or reflection of Marianus. I quote the literal English translation of the first known Latin version as given by Professor Dowden.²

"Here 'neath the plane trees, weighted down by soft slumber, slept Love, having placed his torch beside the Nymphs. Then said the Nymphs to one another, 'Why do we delay? Would that together with this we had extinguished the fire of mortals' heart!' But as the torch made the waters also to blaze, hot is the water the amorous Nymphs (or the Nymphs of the region of Eros) draw from thence for their bath.

¹ *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.* 1878.

² *Selecta Epigrammata.* Basel. 1529.

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“Who was the man that carved (the statue of) Love, and set by the fountains, thinking to quench this fire with water?”

I have shown in several of the plays already examined, that Shakespeare reveals himself involuntarily, not so much in the uses he makes of his sources, as in the manner in which he diverges from them; so in sonnets 153 and 154 we have unconscious self-revelation of most interesting autobiographical significance, when his divergences from his probable source are considered.

In the literal translation of the Latin given above, the “Nymphs” in company conspire to extinguish Love’s torch. In sonnet 153 “A maid of Dian’s” attempts it, and in sonnet 154 “The fairest votary.” Neither in the Latin nor in the translation is there any reference to “a cold valley-fountain” being transformed into a hot well; “the waters” merely being mentioned.

In practically all of the sonnets written to Southampton and Mistress Davenant, Shakespeare writes in the first person. It is evident, then, that in these two sonnets when he writes:

. . . but I, my mistress’ thrall,
Came there for cure,

and again:

I, sick withal, the help of bath desired,
And thither hied, a sad distemper’d guest,
But found no cure: the bath for my help lies
Where Cupid got new fire, my mistress’ eyes,

that he also speaks in his own person. Now as “there’s no’ a wale o’ wigs on Kirriemuir,” so hot wells are not numerous in England; and Shakespeare’s acquaintance with them not likely to have been extensive. One, that

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most likely would be known to him, is the hot well at Hotwells in Bristol, where, according to Matthew Roydon, Anne Sachfeilde lived before her marriage to Davenant ; and where it is evident William Sachfeilde, her legal father, conducted his tavern.

Referring to the vale in which Bristol and Hotwells are situated, and to Bristol Castle, Roydon writes :

Not farre from thence there lyes a vale,
A rosie vale in pleasant plaine ;
The Nimphes frequent this happie dale,
Olde Helicon revives againe ;
 Here Muses sing, here Satyres play,
 Here mirth resounds both night and day.

At East of this, a Castle stands,
By auncient shepheards built of olde,
And lately was in shepheards hands,
Though now by brothers bought and solde,
 At west side springs a Christall well ;
 There doth this chaste *Avisa* dwell.

And there she dwels in publique eye,
Shut up from none that list to see ;
She answeres all that list to try,
Both high and low of each degree :
 But few that come, but feele her dart,
 And try her well ere they depart.

Sachfeilde's tavern being at Hotwells, would doubtless be patronised largely by those who came to take the cure. This would account for *Avisa's* acquaintance with noblemen and gentlemen before her marriage.

The hot well at Hotwells is situated at the foot of St. Vincent's rocks, and in the very heart of the valley at its narrowest and most precipitous part, and is very apparently the " cold valley-fountain " heated by Love's brand

in sonnet 153, and Anne Sachfeilde "The fairest votary" and "A maid of Dian's."

In this light these two sonnets supply fair evidence that Shakespeare met Anne Sachfeilde before her marriage, and also that the procurer of the sonnets for publication secured possession of the "dark lady" series directly from Mistress Davenant.

A comparison of these two sonnets with the first and fortieth cantos of *Willobie his Avis*, gives strong evidence that Roydon had read them when he wrote these portions of his poem, as paraphrase is very apparent.

It is probable that one of these sonnets is a rewriting, or revision, of the other; sonnet 154 is evidently the first attempt; in it Shakespeare, in bringing in the nymphs, keeps closer to his source than in sonnet 153. These do not appear in sonnet 153, and the theme of "my mistress' eyes," which was afterwards used so frequently in the sonnets, and reflected in the plays, is there used probably for the first time.

It is very unlikely that these two sonnets were written elsewhere and forwarded to Anne Sachfeilde at Hotwells; had they been, it is probable only one of them would have been sent, and the first attempt destroyed. In this light it appears that they were written on the spot, during a visit of Shakespeare's to Hotwells; and that Roydon—who is too exact in his descriptions of persons, places and conditions not to have gained his knowledge at first hand—saw these sonnets before 1593-4, and reflected them in the first and fortieth cantos of his poem, and alluded to Shakespeare in the words, "Here Muses sing."

I have previously suggested the probability that all of the poem published as *Willobie his Avis* in 1594, was not

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produced as a reflection of the relations between Shakespeare, Southampton and the "dark lady" in 1593-4, but that it had been worked upon earlier by Roydon with the same original for Avisá in mind, and that it was altered to suit new conditions in 1594, Henry Willobie and W. S. being introduced, and the title of *Willobie his Avisá* given to it at that time.

In its original form, then, it is probable that Shakespeare's early relations with Anne Sachfeilde are reflected in some of the characters, other than W. S., and possibly in the character now presented as D. H. in Canto xl. D. H. is here represented as a poet, and the verses he writes seem to be an expanded paraphrase of sonnets 153 and 154. D. H. is represented as a more conscientious, and less indecent, suitor than the others. In Canto xlii. he apologises for his past importunities, asks forgiveness and promises not to renew them ; pledging for the future a constant and platonic friendship by the gift of a ring. Avisá answers in Canto xliii., which consists of only one verse ; and in Canto xliiii. Henry Willobie is abruptly introduced with his familiar friend W. S., " who not long before had tried the curtesy of the like passion." It may be, however, that Roydon represents himself as D. H. ; as there is a remarkable resemblance between canto xl. and verses in his *Astrophel* ; a resemblance which may have been intentional, and with the object of revealing his authorship to his friends.

SONNET CLIV.

The little Love-god lying once asleep
 Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand,
 Whilst many nymphs that vow'd chaste life to keep
 Came tripping by ; but in her maiden hand
 The fairest votary took up that fire
 Which many legions of true hearts had warm'd ;
 And so the general of hot desire
 Was sleeping by a virgin hand disarm'd.
 This brand she quenched in a cool well by,
 Which from Love's fire took heat perpetual,
 Growing a bath and healthful remedy
 For men diseased ; but I, my mistress' thrall,
 Came there for cure, and this by that I prove,
 Love's fire heats water, water cools not love.

SONNET CLIII.

Cupid laid by his brand and fell asleep :
 A maid of Dian's this advantage found,
 And his love-kindling fire did quickly steep
 In a cold valley-fountain of that ground ;
 Which borrow'd from this holy fire of Love
 A dateless lively heat, still to endure,
 And grew a seething bath, which yet men prove
 Against strange maladies a sovereign cure.
 But at my mistress' eye Love's brand new-fired,
 The boy for trial needs would touch my breast ;
 I, sick withal, the help of bath desired,
 And thither hied, a sad distemper'd guest,
 But found no cure : the bath for my help lies
 Where Cupid got new fire, my mistress' eyes.

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The verses to follow (which can hardly be dignified by the title of sonnet) and are numbered as the 145th in Thorpe's arrangement, are palpably not by Shakespeare. They were evidently included by accident amongst those secured from the "dark lady" and are, no doubt, the effusion of another of her many admirers :

SONNET CXLV.

Those lips that Love's own hand did make
Breathed forth the sound that said "I hate,"
To me that languish'd for her sake :
But when she saw my woeful state,
Straight in her heart did mercy come,
Chiding that tongue that ever sweet
Was used in giving gentle doom ;
And taught it thus anew to greet ;
"I hate" she alter'd with an end,
That follow'd it as gentle day
Doth follow night, who, like a fiend,
From heaven to hell is flown away ;
 "I hate" from hate away she threw,
 And saved my life, saying "not you."

CHAPTER XVIII

ESSEX'S RELATIONS WITH THE QUEEN AND COURT IN 1598

WHILE Essex was absent upon the Island Voyage from July until October 1597, during which time Burghley and Cecil corresponded with him in the most cordial and friendly terms, Cecil was advanced to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, an office Essex had sought for Sir Robert Sidney upon the disappointment of the latter in failing to secure the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. At the same time the Cecils wrought upon the Queen to advance Lord Charles Howard to the peerage as Earl of Nottingham, his patents specifically mentioning that his advancement was in recognition of his services upon the expedition to Cadiz. As Essex held supreme command at Cadiz, and neither he nor any of his followers had received recognition from the Queen for their services, they naturally regarded Howard's advancement as an intentional slight to Essex, especially as Howard's new title gave him precedence over Essex in the House of Lords.

Historians, either from complete ignorance of the subtle character, insidious methods and tacit purpose of Cecil, or from partisanship, usually handle Cecil very gently, and where there is doubt give him the benefit of it. Referring to the elevation of Howard to the Earldom of Nottingham, which gave him precedence over Essex, David Jardine

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writes : " And though there is every reason to believe that the circumstance was accidental, it was interpreted by Essex as a studied affront devised by his enemies in his absence." If this was an accident it was one of a very extraordinary series of similar accidents.

The coldness of the Queen towards Essex and Southampton upon their return from the baffling and unremunerative Island Voyage, combined with the favours shown to Cecil and his adherents during his absence, had the effect upon Essex intended by Cecil, but not the immediate results he anticipated. Essex now retired to his house at Wanstead and obdurately refused to come to Court, though his friends in many letters that are extant endeavoured to show him his folly. Lord Hunsdon writes :

" Her Majesty much wondered and made many consultations of your absence, holding it will be an imputation of farther defect in your late service by the enemy, than you have any ways deserved. I pleaded your want of health ; the shooting in your temples upon cold or long speeches, and yet your readiness to attend Her Majesty, if she should be pleased to command your services : she accounted your duty and place sufficient to command you, and that a prince was not to be contested withal by a subject.—I told Her Majesty that, after you should find some amendment in the state of your body, I supposed you would for a small time retire yourself for a private regard to your own estate ; but she rather imagined you should look into the public state of the realm as a councillor than to respect your private estate, when you might take a more quiet time hereafter to look into it.—Many discourses passed in which I could find nothing but comfort and kindness towards your L. if you will but turn about and take it."

An unknown friend, who signs himself "thy true servant not daring to subscribe," wrote him on 16th November 1597, telling him that by retiring from Court he was playing his enemies' game; "for the greatest subject that ever is or was greatest in the prince's favour, in his absence is not missed"; and, furthermore, "a small discontinuance maketh things as though they were not, breedeth forgetfulness, forgetfulness giveth way to wrath, and the wrath of a prince is as the roaring of a lion."

Nothing would move Essex to attend either Court, Council or Parliament. The anniversary of the Queen's accession—which was always an important festivity—drawing near, Burghley wrote twice to Essex within a fortnight, and ended his last letter somewhat peremptorily:

"I wish to receive answer when you will come to the Court.

Your L. assured at command,
W. BURGHELEY."

Essex still refusing to appear at Court, the Queen demanded to know the reason, and having learned that it was the precedence which Nottingham's promotion had given him over Essex, she admitted the wrong done him and opened the floodgates of her wrath upon Burghley and Cecil, accusing them of having purposely planned to humiliate the Earl, which, it is recorded, they denied with "infinite protestations, execrations and vows."

On the 18th of December 1597, Essex was created Earl Marshal of England, a position which restored him to precedence over Nottingham, who now, in turn, considered himself humiliated, resigned his office of Lord Steward and from this time forward, with the entire Howard

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connection, gave Cecil his ardent support in his plans against Essex, which was the precise state of affairs Cecil intended to effect.

At this period Essex, by his own folly in carrying on intrigues with certain ladies of the Court, placed a weapon in the hands of his enemies, which proved more effective against him in alienating the Queen than any of his merely factional or political mistakes.

Whatever truth there may have been in the gossip, his name was associated at this time with at least four of the ladies of the Court. A year before, Lady Bacon, the mother of Francis and Anthony Bacon, wrote him a long letter remonstrating with him for the alleged renewal of his relations with Elizabeth Southwell, wife of the aged Sir Robert Southwell, and daughter of the Lord Admiral (now the Earl of Nottingham). Some years before this woman had borne a son to Essex, who is mentioned in his will. It was also gossiped that Essex looked with favour upon Elizabeth Russell, Lady Mary Howard and Elizabeth Bridges. Rowland Whyte mentions the latter in connection with Essex a year later, and it is recorded that the Queen "with words and blows of anger" drove two of these ladies from the Court, so that they were compelled to take refuge at Lady Stafford's house for three nights, when they are reported as "restored to their wonted waiting." While all of these ladies were berated by the Queen and exhorted "to remain in virgin state as much as may be," Lady Mary Howard was specifically advised "to shun the Earl, and not entertain his company." Of this lady a biographer records:

"Lady Mary had a velvet dress, with a rich border,

powdered with gold and pearl, which moved many to envy, and among the rest the Queen herself, who thought it surpassed her own in beauty and richness. So one day she sent privately for Lady Mary's dress, put it on, and came out among the ladies: the Queen being a great deal taller than Lady Mary, the dress was ridiculous on her; she asked all the ladies how they liked her new fancied suit; at length she came to the poor girl herself, and asked her if she did not think it too short and unbecoming, to which Lady Mary was forced to agree. 'Why, then,' said the Queen, 'if it become not me, as being too short, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine, so it fitteth neither well.' The dress was accordingly put by, and never worn till after the Queen's death; when he, to gratify whose eyes it had been perhaps originally made, was no longer there to admire its fair wearer."

Whatever the facts may have been regarding Essex's relations with these ladies, they were not minimised by the gossip of the Cecilians.

Early in 1598 advices from France of a proposed peace between France and Spain made it necessary for Elizabeth to send a special Embassy to the French King to consult regarding it. Cecil being chosen to head the mission, and realising by his own treatment of Essex during his absences from Court, the disadvantage he himself would now be under while away, with Essex in favour at Court, refused to accept the post until he had secured Essex's word that nothing prejudicial to his interests should be done during his absence. Cecil's knowledge of his rival's character is shown by the fact that he was satisfied with Essex's promise, which, it is needless to say, was faithfully kept.

It was at this time that Essex became involved as a confidant in Southampton's relations with Elizabeth

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Vernon—a matter which several months later seriously complicated his own relations with the Queen. Southampton accompanied Cecil to France on 11th February 1598. Several festivities at the houses of Essex's friends, at which plays were performed, preceded the departure of Southampton and Cecil, and four days later Sir Gilly Meyrick is reported as making "a very great supper at Essex House"; there were at it "the Ladies Leicester, Northumberland (Dorothy Devereaux), Bedford, Essex, Rich (Penelope Devereaux); Lords Essex, Rutland, Mountjoy. They had two plays performed before them, which kept them till one o'clock after midnight." As these were all the Earl of Southampton's most intimate friends it is practically certain that the plays were Shakespeare's and presented by his company.

Cecil returned from France at the end of April, having proved unsuccessful in his efforts to prevent the peace between France and Spain, which was effected by treaty at Vervins on 2nd May 1598. As this left England and the Netherlands unsupported against Spain, a peace party developed in both countries—the English pacifists being headed by Burghley and Cecil, and their opponents by Essex. Essex argued that in the past Philip of Spain had never treated with Protestants but to deceive them, that no direct offer of peace had been made by Spain, and that the indirect motion towards it was merely an expedient to gain time, and that when his fleets were repaired and replenished he would have little scruple in again attacking them; and, furthermore, that to desert the Netherlands and leave them to the tender mercies of Philip would be not only disgraceful but a serious loss and menace to England. He said:

“ Princes make peace for utility, when they gain advantage by it : if Spain make peace with us, what can he gain ? not reputation, for by owning that he is unable to continue the war with us single-handed, he will lose the reputation of his arms, and other countries subject to him will be apt to revolt ; therefore it could not be for convenience ; as for inability, he cannot want means, for while his enterprises are his ebb-tides, so his Indian fleets are his flood-tides, that fill his banks again. To include the Low Countries in a peace with us is impossible ; desert them, we cannot. He will make no peace with them unless they acknowledge as their Sovereign the Infanta, to whom, with her husband archduke Albert, Philip had lately given them,—and restore the Popish religion : the poisoned doctrine of those veneficall Espaniolized Jesuits once brought in, there will soon be no professors of the Reformed religion left.”

During a debate in the Council in May 1598, Burghley, exasperated by the force of Essex's arguments, lost his temper and, telling Essex that he thought only of blood and slaughter, dramatically drew forth a prayer book and pointed to the 25th verse of the 55th Psalm : “ The blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.” By the multitude this was afterwards regarded as prophetic, but by the wiser of Essex's followers, and in the light of after days, appeared merely as the premature expression of an already settled purpose on the part of the Cecils.

The Cecils being outvoted and an arrangement made with the Netherlands to continue hostilities, they spread the report that the peace and prosperity of the country were hindered solely by Essex's desire for military glory : in answer to which Essex published a paper against “ those

which jealously and maliciously tax him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country." This paper gives a good example of Essex's remarkable vigour and lucidity of style.

Here again Essex played into the hands of the Cecils, who, to the Queen, coloured his paper as a bid for popularity ; any attempt at which on the part of her favourites or ministers always aroused the resentment and jealousy of Elizabeth.

Early in August the Queen's growing irritation against Essex was exhibited in what, even in her, was an unusually explosive manner at a meeting of the Council, which is related by Camden—who was a Cecilian—as follows :

" There followed after this a pretty warm dispute, between the Queen and Essex, about the choice of some fit and able persons to superintend the affairs of Ireland, at which none were present but the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary, and Windebank, Clerk of the Seal. The Queen looked upon Sir William Knollys, uncle of Essex, as the most proper person for that charge ; and Essex contended, on the other side, that Sir George Carew would much better become that post (perhaps on purpose to get rid of him) ; and when the Queen could by no means be persuaded to approve his choice, he quite forgot himself and his duty, and turned his back upon his Sovereign in a kind of contempt. The Queen was not able to bear this insolence, and so bestowed on him a box on the ear, and bade him ' go and be hanged.' He immediately clapped his hand on his sword, and the Lord Admiral, stepping in between, he swore a great oath ' that he neither could nor would put up with an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry the Eighth himself ' ;

and, in a great passion, he immediately withdrew from Court."

For ten or twelve weeks afterwards Essex refused to make an apology, and indeed by his actions and manner, if not by words, intimated that he was not the offender ; the Queen, with equal stubbornness, refused to admit him to Court until he had tendered an apology.

In this interval Lord Burghley died, and Sir Robert Cecil, with his sole confidant removed, was left without any moral restraint to formulate his policies as he willed against Essex. It was at this period that Lord Grey and others referred to Essex as a "lost child," an expression which Shakespeare reflects in the seventh *book* of sonnets, which was written in these months.

If my dear love were but the child of state,
It might for Fortune's bastard be unfather'd,
As subject to Time's love or to Time's hate,
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gather'd.
No, it was builded far from accident ;
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls :
It fears not policy, that heretic,
Which works on leases of short-number'd hours,
But all alone stands hugely politic,
That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.
To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime.

The execution of Stanley, Rolls and Squires, for a conspiracy against the lives of the Queen and the Earl of Essex, which is alluded to in the last two lines of this sonnet, took place in this autumn.

Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, which mentions Shakespeare's Sonnets and, as I have shown, specifically refers to the

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fourth *book*, was also published at this period. Meres' mention of his former sonnets is noticed by Shakespeare in the seventh *book*, composed at this time.

Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
Even those that said I could not love you dearer :
Yet then my judgement knew no reason why
My most full flame should afterwards burn clearer.
But reckoning Time, whose million'd accidents
Creep in 'twixt vows, and change decrees of kings,
Tan sacred beauty, blunt the sharp'st intents,
Divert strong minds to the course of altering things ;
Alas, why, fearing of Time's tyranny,
Might I not then say " Now I love you best,"
When I was certain o'er incertainty,
Crowning the present, doubting of the rest ?
Love is a babe ; then might I not say so,
To give full growth to that which still doth grow ?

That Essex's amours were being gossiped about in August and September is shown in a letter written by a Mr. Standen, one of his secretaries, which, though undated, plainly pertains to August or September 1598, as it refers to Elizabeth Vernon, whom Southampton had recently married. Mr. Standen writes :

" About this matter, imposed upon the Earl (of Essex) for gendering, the Lady Scudamore and Dr. Gifford are also in the class. Most that talk do judge this not to be the principal cause, neither that of the new-coined countess, but that some other matter hath been discovered unto the Queen, not known to the vulgar, which doth pinch nearer. . . . There is doubtless a remedy, which consisteth in the diligence about and observing of her, which two points put in practice would restore his greatness, and yield his foes flat at his feet."

Though urged insistently by his friends and followers to submit to the Queen and resume his part in affairs of

State and the Council of War concerned with Irish affairs, Essex remained obdurate from the end of July until the beginning of October. How the matter was finally smoothed over is not recorded, but it is evident that the reconciliation was pretended upon the part of the Queen. It is probable that she simulated amity at the suggestion of Cecil, in order to induce Essex to assume command of the Irish Expedition. Her sudden change of manner once he was landed in Ireland and her revocation of his licence to return at pleasure, without which he had persistently refused to accept the command, gives good evidence that her reconciliation was merely a pretence in order to lead Essex into the trap which Cecil had prepared for him. It is unlikely, however, that the Queen was aware at this time of the implacable nature of Cecil's intentions regarding Essex, and probable that she regarded Cecil in the light in which he posed, *i.e.* as a capable, wise and long-suffering servant, and as abused by Essex. In a later chapter I shall demonstrate that *Troilus and Cressida* was composed, or rewritten, after the middle of 1598, and that Essex in his attitude towards the Queen and Court, as well as in his amour with a daughter of a member of the Cecil faction, is reflected as Achilles.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INCEPTION OF THE ALLEGED "WAR OF THE THEATRES"

THAT Shakespeare was traduced and vilified by a coterie of "university pens" as early as 1589,¹ and that the hostility was continued against him by a clique, comprising Chapman, Roydon, Florio and others, from about 1592 until 1598, has already been demonstrated. If, after the lapse of three hundred years, it is possible to trace such strong and continuous evidence of this antagonism, it may be assumed that much satirical matter from both sides has perished, or is still undeciphered, and also that the bellicose spirit manifested by the opponents in their literary productions would extend to their personal relations, and come to the cognizance of their respective friends and admirers, who in turn would take sides on the issues involved. I shall later adduce evidence to prove that such a condition had developed by about 1598-9, and also that in its wider action this quarrel passes into, and becomes, that much discussed but much misunderstood affair known to past critics as the "War of the Theatres."

The dramatic recriminations traceable in certain plays composed by Jonson, Marston and Dekker, between about 1598 and 1601, or later, known as the "War of the Theatres," have been taken as evidence of a theatrical and dramatic

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

rivalry between Ben Jonson and possibly others on one side, and Marston and Dekker upon the other. The grouping of Marston with Dekker among Jonson's antagonists is due to Jonson's assertion, in 1619, to William Drummond of Hawthornden, that he had written *The Poetaster* against Marston, with whom he also asserted he had frequent quarrels, and to the fact that a number of peculiar words used by Marston in the literary work he produced between 1598 and 1600 are satirised in *The Poetaster*. As Jonson, in the Apologetical Dialogue appended to the published play, denies any satirical intention, it is difficult to place much credence either in his statement to Drummond, or in its denial, which is as follows :

I can profess I never writ that piece
More innocent nor empty of offence.

There is no evidence whatever for grouping Marston with Dekker as Jonson's opponent at this period. Strong evidence exists, however, to show that Marston was an ally of Jonson's, and opposed to Dekker, at the time *The Poetaster* was revised into its present form; and that, while he is alluded to in the play, the allusions are not of an unfriendly nature. There can be little doubt, however, that Jonson made this statement to Drummond, who could have had no reason for recording it had it not been made. In the reasons back of Jonson's half-truth, or inferential falsehood, to Drummond in 1619, regarding the satirical intention of *The Poetaster*, we may infer the prestige and veneration which was already transfiguring the memory of Shakespeare, who had now been dead three years. Though Jonson evidently intended to satirise Marston in the earliest production of *The Poetaster*, in its present form it undoubtedly attacks Shakespeare as

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Crispinus; but in 1619 Jonson was ashamed to admit it, especially to a fellow-poet, who was evidently an admirer of Shakespeare.

Another thing that has misled the critics in assigning sides to the persons involved in these dramatic bickerings, is the fact that in 1598-9, which years are included in the period of the "War," as indicated by Jonson in the Apologetical Dialogue to *The Poetaster*, two of Jonson's plays—*Every Man in his Humour* and *Every Man out of his Humour*—were produced by Shakespeare's company, which indicates that Jonson and Shakespeare were at that time upon friendly terms. It has also been argued that certain very palpable slurs against Shakespeare, to be found in the Prologue to the former and in the text of the latter play, could not have been directed against him; it being thought unlikely that the Lord Chamberlain's company would accept and perform plays attacking other plays which they owned, and also satirising and caricaturing one of their leading members. This argument does not take into consideration the very palpable facts, that Jonson later recovered the ownership of both of these plays by revision, that they were acted for some time during the later stages of the quarrel by a rival company, and that the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, and those portions of *Every Man out of his Humour* in which satirical allusions to Shakespeare are to be found, were evidently additions made to the plays at the later period of revision when Jonson had gone over to the enemy.

We have no record of Jonson's relations with Shakespeare nor with the Lord Chamberlain's company until the year 1598, at which time this company accepted, and acted, *Every Man in his Humour*. Jonson for some time

before this had been affiliated with Henslowe's company, which acted at the Rose Theatre; but having quarrelled with Henslowe, or with some of the members of the company, in 1598, he offered his services to the Lord Chamberlain's company. His estrangement from Henslowe's company was further embittered towards the end of 1598 by his killing in a duel Gabriel Spencer, a player of Henslowe's. Late in the year following, *Every Man out of his Humour* was also produced by the Lord Chamberlain's company. During these two years, therefore, we may infer that Jonson's and Shakespeare's relations were friendly; sometime in 1600 or 1601, however, it is evident that they became strained, and that thereafter for a time Jonson allied himself with Marston and Chapman against Shakespeare, who in turn was supported by Dekker, and possibly also by Chettle, his collaborator.

While the sides in the "War of the Theatres"—except in its earliest stages—may roughly be placed as Jonson, Chapman and Marston on one side, against Shakespeare and Dekker on the other, there evidently was not continuous co-operation between the allies. Divisions were bound to occur where so many interests were involved. It appears evident then that Marston, before 1600, was at odds with Jonson, but we have strong evidence that at the bitterest stage of the hostilities between the factions they were friends and allies. It shall be shown that in the early stages of the quarrel in 1598-9, before Jonson had openly joined the opposition to Shakespeare, Marston was already allied with Chapman against him.

The connecting links between the earlier rivalry of Chapman and his coterie against Shakespeare, and its later expanded phase as the "War of the Theatres," are

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to be found in two plays—*Troilus and Cressida* and *Histriomastix*. Whenever *Troilus and Cressida*, in its first form, was written, it was undoubtedly rewritten by Shakespeare in 1598 as a travesty upon Chapman's first Homeric translations, which were published in that year.¹ The revision of *Histriomastix* was the rival faction's dramatic answer to Shakespeare's satire. It alludes to Shakespeare and also to *Troilus and Cressida*, and satirises Shakespeare and the Lord Chamberlain's company. The allusion to *Troilus and Cressida* in this play proves that it was revised later than the production of *Troilus and Cressida* at this time, and its mention by Ben Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour* evidences its production before the end of 1599, when Jonson's play was produced by the Lord Chamberlain's company; and as his reference to *Histriomastix* is palpably satirical, I infer that Jonson championed Shakespeare's side and opposed Marston at that date.

No one of Shakespeare's plays has interested and puzzled critics more than *Troilus and Cressida*; dates of composition have been assigned for it, ranging from 1590 to 1609. I shall briefly outline all hitherto known external evidence upon which it is possible to form any opinion regarding its dates of composition and revision.

Under date of 16th March 1599 in Henslowe's *Diary* there is an entry recorded relating to a play entitled *Troyelles and Cresseida*, then in course of preparation by Dekker and Chettle. On 3rd June in the same year a play entitled *The Tragedy of Agamemnon* was licensed by

¹ Mr. George Bernard Shaw was, I believe, the first in time to suggest that Shakespeare wrote *Troilus and Cressida* against Chapman and his Homer worship, and to recognise the distinctive human reality of *Cressida*, in *Shakespeare Society Transactions*. 1880-5.

the Master of the Revels. This is evidently the same play mentioned in the *Diary* as Dekker and Chettle's *Troyelles and Cresseida*. On 3rd February 1603 a play entitled *The Booke of Troilus and Cresseid, as yt is acted by The Lord Chamberlain's men*, was entered upon the Stationers' Registers. No publication followed this entry.

On 28th June 1609 a book entitled *The History of Troylus and Cressida* was entered on the Stationers' Registers by Richard Bonian and Henry Walley. Two quartos, or the same quarto with two different title-pages, appeared bearing these names as publishers in the same year. The title-page of the first portion of this quarto published reads as follows :

" The | Historie of Troylus | and Cresseida. | As it
was acted by the Kings Majesties | servants at the
globe. | *Written by William Shakespeare.* London |
Imprinted by *G. Eld* for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*
and | are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules
Church-yard over against the | great North doore.
| 1609."

The title-page of the second portion of the quarto of 1609 reads :

" The | Famous Historie of Troylus *and* Cresseid |
excellently expressing the beginning | of their loves
with the conceited wooing | of *Pandarus* Prince of
Licia | *Written by William Shakespeare.* London |
Imprinted by *G. Eld* for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*
and | are to be sold in the spread Eagle in Paules |
Church-yard, over against the | great North doore.
| 1609."

No other edition appeared in print until the publication

of the First Folio in 1623, where it is styled *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*. A comparison of the text of the Quarto, with that of the Folio, reveals many small but significant differences which, with other reasons, lead me to infer that the text of the Folio is a compilation made from the published Quarto and an earlier, unrevised and probably incomplete manuscript of the play, secured by Heminge and Condell, while the Folio was in process of printing.

In the catalogue of the plays prefixed to the First Folio, *Troilus and Cressida* is not mentioned. This seems to imply that the first intention of the publishers of the Folio was to issue it without including *Troilus and Cressida*. If they possessed a manuscript, and owned the copyright, why should they not use it? That they worked from an older manuscript of the play as well as from the Quarto, seems to be proved by the numerous small differences to be found between the texts of the Quarto and of the Folio. The title given the play in the Folio—where it is styled *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*—was apparently taken from the older manuscript, as the Quarto names the play *The Historie of Troilus and Cressida*. From this I infer that Heminge and Condell possessed no copy of *Troilus and Cressida* when they planned the publication of the Folio, nor until the time that the catalogue of the plays was printed. In fact all of the Comedies and all of the Histories as well as a portion of the Tragedies appear to have been set in type before they thought of including *Troilus and Cressida*. Having decided to do so, they evidently intended to class it with the Tragedies, following *Romeo and Juliet*, which ends with page 79, but should end with page 77, as the preceding page is numbered 76.

The first six pages of *Troilus and Cressida* are numbered from 79 to 84 and the remaining pages are unnumbered. A doubt apparently having arisen regarding its classification, it was finally inserted by itself between the Histories and Tragedies.

It is now generally recognised by critics that *Troilus and Cressida* is not a concrete production of one period. Several glaring discrepancies have been pointed out in the action confirming this view. A marked difference of style also points very clearly to more than one, and probably to several periods of revision. In fact, some portions of the play, including the Prologue, differ so distinctly in style from everything that we know to be Shakespeare's, that it has been suggested that the play includes some work by other hands; a suggestion with which I concur, and which I will later endeavour to demonstrate.

As the unsolved riddles presented by this play and its history are so numerous, any argument that may be made looking towards their solution must necessarily be intricate and long drawn out. For the guidance of the reader in following the intention of the evidence I shall adduce, I will first outline my theory regarding the play and the involved questions of its composition, revisions and publications. I will show beyond any reasonable doubt that whenever *Troilus and Cressida* may have been composed in its earliest form, it was rewritten in 1598 as a travesty upon Chapman's Homeric translations, which were published in that year, and fulsomely dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whom Chapman likened to Achilles.

Shakespeare, whose fortunes were closely bound up with the Essex faction through his intimacy with Southampton, in common with other adherents of Essex, tacitly depre-

cated the manner in which that nobleman was conducting himself at this period, in jeopardising his favour with the Queen by giving new grounds for the scandal already in circulation for some years regarding his relations with certain ladies of the Court. Shakespeare's pessimism at this time was deepened by Southampton's absence and disgrace, and further intensified by the climax of his own relations with the "dark lady," who at about this time betrayed his confidence to his detractors by allowing them to get possession of sonnets he had written to her.

Achilles, who was lauded by Chapman as Essex's military and political prototype, was presented by Shakespeare as a vain and enamoured sluggard, who kept his tent from wounded vanity, and neglected to prosecute the war against the Trojans because of an intrigue in which he was involved with Polyxena, one of the daughters of the Trojan king. While Shakespeare's play made no direct point at Essex, Chapman's recent fulsome dedication of his Homeric translations to that nobleman, and his identification of him with Achilles, added to the similarity between the actual conditions of Essex's life at that time and those under which Shakespeare's Achilles were portrayed, gave the play an inferential point too palpable to be missed by Essex or his friends, by whom his amours were regarded with deep concern.

It is very likely that *Troilus and Cressida* was not played more than once in this form, and that its presentation was discontinued by Shakespeare in order to mollify Essex, to whom the reflection had come home, and whom he wished to awaken to a sense of duty rather than to offend. It is evident, however, that the inference carried by the play reacted unfavourably on Chapman's expecta-

tions of Essex's patronage, and that Shakespeare appeared innocently to be acting the part of Hoder to Chapman's Lok. With characteristic lack of tact, Chapman now made a bad case worse, by publishing as a defence of Achilles' character the 18th book of the *Iliad* under the title of *Achilles' Shield*. This book was also dedicated to Essex, but the resentful tone that Chapman uses regarding the patronage of the great, in a poem addressed to his friend Harriots, and appended to this publication, implies that his recent attempt upon Essex's patronage had not been financially successful. In this poem Chapman indicates Shakespeare, and criticises his classical knowledge by referring to the sources of his story of *Troilus and Cressida*.¹ Neither Cressida nor Pandarus appear in Homer, and Troilus is mentioned only once, and then as one of Priam's dead sons. Shakespeare took his original story bodily from Chaucer, whose version, Dr. Brandes finds, was derived from a poem by Benoit de St. Maure, a troubadour of the twelfth century. Chapman also makes very distinct references to the fifth *book* of sonnets, to which he refers as "tympanies of state," and which I have already shown was written in opposition to Chapman's advances upon Southampton's patronage. Chapman here also gives evidence of his cognizance of the fact that Shakespeare had recently received, or shortly expected to receive, official recognition of his gentility by a grant of Arms. It will be noticed that all of Chapman's references to sonnets are to those contained in the fifth book.

It is palpable that during the year 1598 and well on into the year 1599, Shakespeare's company when in London performed at the Blackfriars, which was licensed by the

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*. John Lane. 1903.

authorities to the Burbages a short time before as a private theatre. It has usually been supposed that this theatre was leased by the Burbages to Henry Evans for the uses of "The Children of the Chapel," immediately after its construction; but if the matter be examined carefully it will be seen that their lease to Evans was not made until the Globe was ready for their own occupancy. The Burbages' old playhouse, the Theatre in Shoreditch, was closed in the summer of 1597, and was never afterwards used as a theatre. Apprehending trouble with their landlord, Giles Allen, the Burbages leased the Blackfriars property before or about the time of the expiration of their lease of the Theatre, and proceeded at once to transform the buildings upon it into a playhouse, but were met with opposition from residents of that vicinity. A compromise was effected—evidently through the influence of their courtly friends and patrons—by which they agreed to conduct the Blackfriars as a private theatre. It appears, however, that those who succeeded them in the use of this theatre did not confine themselves to the limitations imposed, and that the Blackfriars was for several years afterwards freely used as a public theatre, in spite of the protests of neighbouring residents, though it was finally abandoned as a theatre owing to this opposition. It is not likely, however, that the Lord Chamberlain's company infringed the terms of their licence during the short time they occupied the Blackfriars while the Globe was in course of construction, and probable that all of their performances during that period were private presentations. Southampton and others of the nobility appear likely to have freely patronised this company and theatre between the autumn of 1597 and the summer of 1599.

It is practically certain, then, that all of Shakespeare's plays composed, or materially revised, during this period, were presented at the Blackfriars, and at times, no doubt, before select audiences of their noble patrons and their friends and followers at the houses of these noblemen. It is suggestive that those plays, the composition and revision of which may be imputed to this period, all, in some way, reflect Shakespeare's affiliation with Southampton and his antagonism to Chapman, Florio and their allies.

The Second Part of Henry IV., which was produced in December 1598, makes mention of, and apologises for, a play produced a short time before *in the same place*. "Be it known to you, *as it is very well*, I was lately *here* in the end of *a displeasing play*, to pray your patience for it and to promise you a better. I meant indeed to pay you with this ; which, if like an ill venture it come unluckily home, I break, and you, my gentle creditors, lose," etc. It is evident that this was spoken at a private presentation of *Henry IV.*, and that it referred to the private presentation of a former play. The words I have italicised, "*a displeasing play*," and "*as it is very well*," clearly apply to a play that displeased its audience and the displeasing nature of which had caused objection. It is unlikely that Shakespeare, who wrote these words, would personally apologise for a play written by other hands, and evident that he refers to one of his own production. A careful consideration of all of his plays likely to have been composed, or drastically revised and performed at this period, fails to reveal any except *Troilus and Cressida*, to which the term "*a displeasing play*" can, by any stretch of the imagination, be applied. In this Epilogue the audience is referred to as "*my gentle creditors*," and as "*gentlemen*" and

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"gentlewomen," which infers that the play was produced before a select company. From the foregoing facts and inferences I conclude that *Troilus and Cressida* was produced in 1598 before a courtly audience, and probably at Essex's or Southampton's house, as a satire upon Chapman and his Homer worship; with Florio glanced at in the character of Pandarus; with the "dark lady's" perfidy tacitly in mind in the presentation of Cressida, and with Achilles caricatured in such a manner as to cast an unpleasant reflection upon Chapman's identification of Essex with that character; and, at the same time, with the intention of arousing Essex to a sense of his responsibilities. Upon its first presentation, Essex, having taken offence at its too obvious point, its presentations were discontinued by Shakespeare's company. Later on, *Henry IV., Part II.*, was presented at the same place and an apology tendered for the former play.

Shortly after the production of *Troilus and Cressida*, Chapman and his friends brought about the public revival of the old play now entitled *Histrionastix, or the Player Whipt*. In this play Shakespeare and his company are caricatured as Posthaste and his players. They are portrayed as performing privately at the house of Lord Mavortius. In *Histrionastix* Shakespeare is referred to by name, and *Troilus and Cressida* is alluded to so openly that there can be no question regarding its anti-Shakespearean intention. Past critics—who have not otherwise than by the supposed anti-Shakespearean satire in the reference to *Troilus and Cressida*, recognised Marston as an opponent to Shakespeare—place the play, or at least portions of it, to Marston's credit. Yet all critics recognise the fact that *Histrionastix* is the work of more than one

writer ; at least two very distinct literary styles are recognisable in it. Here, then, we have evidence of collusion on the part of a clique against Shakespeare, in 1598-9. Let us now consider Shakespeare's possible allies.

It shall be made plain that Dekker was Shakespeare's ardent ally and champion in 1601-2. In 1599, a few months after the first performance of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, we find Dekker collaborating with Chettle, one of Shakespeare's early friends. They are preparing a play for Henslowe upon the subject of *Troyelles and Cresseida*, which was later licensed under the name of *Agamemnon*. Nothing is at present known of this play other than the reference to it in Henslowe's *Diary*, and its licence already noted. No play of Dekker's nor of Chettle's now exists of either title, nor upon these subjects. Seeing that Shakespeare composed *Troilus and Cressida* primarily as an attack upon Chapman, and that his own company, for the reasons already set forth, could neither continue its presentation privately nor present it upon the public boards, is it not evident that Shakespeare disposed of it to his friends and allies, Dekker and Chettle, who were at enmity with Chapman's collaborator, Marston, to produce at the Rose Theatre, in a form sufficiently altered to eliminate the offence to Essex, and with the satire against Chapman and his friends still further emphasised by Dekker ; and also that the change in title from *Troilus and Cressida* to *Agamemnon* was made in order to disguise the original authorship and play ? Would not this account for the palpably non-Shakespearean portions of the play, including the Prologue ? As both Dekker and Chettle's financial affairs were at low ebb early in this year, both of them being in prison for debt, it is not improbable that Shakespeare,

being unable to use his new play, made a gift of it to his less prosperous friends.

Convincing evidence shall be given that *Troilus and Cressida* in some form or forms was frequently presented after 1601 by companies opposed to Chapman, Jonson and Marston during the continuance of "The War of the Theatres," as late as the years 1605-7; and also that *Troilus and Cressida* was published with Shakespeare's cognizance in 1609, as a final reply to Chapman and his allies, in answer to new hostilities on their part in that year. During the years that elapsed between its composition and its publication in Quarto form, it was revised so frequently and so many new caricatures and issues introduced, that it grew into the unactable *olla podrida* it now presents. While *Troilus and Cressida* was acted by Shakespeare's company in about 1602 and later, it is evident that in its altered form it still remained the property of Henslowe, to whom it had been sold by Dekker and Chettle as *Agamemnon*. Though it was entered upon the Stationers' Registers by James Roberts in 1603, the entry was made with the proviso that it be published "when he hath gotten sufficient authority for it." As it was not published following this entry it is evident that Roberts could not secure the necessary authority. When it was finally published in 1609, though it was undoubtedly issued with Shakespeare's cognizance, some difficulty was experienced in securing the right of publication. This apparently would not have arisen had the copyright been owned by Shakespeare or his company.

The writer of the preface to the Quarto says :

"Thank fortune for the scape it hath had amongst you since by the grand possessors' wills I believe you should have prayed for them rather than been prayed."

Some early copies of the Quarto were issued with a title-page reading: "As it was acted by the Kings majesties servants at the globe"; but before the printing of the edition was completed, for some cogent reason the title-page was changed and these words eliminated, and the preface already quoted, proclaiming it "a new play never staled with the stage," added to the remainder of the edition.

Is the solution of the problem not palpable in the light of the outside ownership of the copyright? In endeavouring to issue *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609, Shakespeare was evidently hindered by the owners of the old copyright. He accordingly revised the play sufficiently to recover his ownership. In setting up the title-page, the publishers appear to have overlooked this fact in announcing the book "as it was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's company," which was a plain admission of infringement of copyright, but their attention being called to their mistake, they not only altered the title-page, eliminating these words, but had a preface written heralding it as a new play "never staled with the stage." Fourteen years later, when Heminge and Condell came to publish the Folio they apparently owned neither manuscript nor copyright of *Troilus and Cressida*, and intended to issue the Folio without it. While the Folio was in process of printing, however, they seem to have come to terms with the owners of the copyrights of the original play and also of the Quarto, and from the two sources to have compiled the Folio version. That this is the true solution of the mystery of *Troilus and Cressida* I believe may be fully demonstrated.

CHAPTER XX

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SHAKESPEARE'S *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* AND DEKKER'S *AGAMEMNON*

PRESERVED in the British Museum as MS. Additional 10.449, folio 5, there is a fragmentary plot of a play dealing with *Troilus and Cressida*, which was a property of the Earl of Nottingham's company some time between 1598 and 1602. This plot was evidently amongst Edward Alleyn's papers, preserved at Dulwich College, but became scattered with others by the negligence of scholars who had borrowed them. It was recovered at the Heber sale in 1856 by the British Museum—along with four other plots of plays originally owned by the Earl of Nottingham's company—and was published for the first time in Gregg's edition of *Henslowe's Papers* in 1907. Though Mr. Gregg, in common with all previous critics, fails to find any connection between this fragmentary plot and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, I have no hesitancy in affirming my belief that it is a fragment of the plot of Dekker and Chettle's play as it appeared after they had first revised it from Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, and that it affords evidence that Shakespeare in revising *Troilus and Cressida* for publication in 1609 worked from Dekker and Chettle's *Agamemnon*,

as well as from his own old play. In order to elucidate my argument I reprint the fragment of the plot upon the following page.

When Shakespeare gave his *Troilus and Cressida* to Dekker and Chettle in 1599 he did so with the object of continuing hostilities against Chapman and Florio ; while Dekker and Chettle accepted it in order to attack Marston, with whom they were now at odds, and who at this time was collaborating with Chapman. It was to Marston, Chapman, and others of their friends that Florio referred a month or two before this in " The Address to the Reader " prefixed to his *Worlde of Wordes*, when he wrote :

" Let H.S. hisse and his complices quarrell and all breake their gals, I have a great faction of good writers to bandie with me." ¹

Again, when Shakespeare revised and published *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609, his intention was still antagonistic to Chapman and Florio, and was now also directed against Jonson, who in the intervening years had joined the forces against him. At this date Marston had retired from connection with the stage and was now in holy orders. With the object of including Chapman, Jonson and Florio in the published satire of 1609, Shakespeare retained in his publication of *Troilus and Cressida* some of the satirical characterisations introduced by Dekker in his version of the play. That Shakespeare used Dekker's version as well as his own in making his revision for publication appears evident when *Troilus and Cressida* and Alleyn's plot are analytically compared.

In Act II. Scene ii. of *Troilus and Cressida*, Priam,

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

5	reoue, Vlisses A dore Herrauld iam, Hecto e eunt & eiphob Her aulds to menelaus s & Diomede, to them Hector D hobus, to them Cassandra exit	at	E De	30
10	3 seuerall tucketts Alarū excursions exeunt	Alarū	Enter Diomede, menelay & beat Hector in Antenor Enter Hector and exeunt	35
15	ter Antenor pursued by Diomede to them Aiax to the on the walls Hector Paris Deiphobus & m ^r Hunt exeunt Alarū	Alarū	Enter Diomede to Achillis to them menelay, to them Vlisses to them Achillis in his Tent to them · Alax w th patroclus on his back. Enter Cressida, w th Beggars, pigge Stephen, m ^r Jones his boy & mutes to them Troylus & Deiphobus & proctor exeunt	40
20	En er Troy & Pandarus to them Cressida & a waight g maid w th a l ght, m ^r Jones his boy exit aighting maid, exeunt manet Pand us to him Deiphobus exit De p b to him Helen & Paris exit Pandarus, exeunt omnes	Alarū	Enter Priam · Hector, Paris Hellen Cassandra Polixina to them Antenor exeunt Enter D med · & Troylus · to them Achillis o them Hector & Deiphobus to them on the walls Priam Paris Hellen Polixina & Cassandra to them vlisses Aiax · menelay & Hea Priam & they on the wall descend to them	45
25	Enter Priam, Hector, Deiphobus, Paris Hel De Cassandra bus & Enter vlisses and			50

Hector, Troilus, Paris and Helenus are introduced, and later in the scene Cassandra enters to them. In the sixth scene in Alleyn's plot, Priam, Hector, Deiphobus, Paris and Helenus are introduced and Cassandra enters to them. The chances are so remote as to make it practically impossible that such a conjunction and order of characters as appear here should occur in single scenes of two plays written by different hands and working independently of each other ; indeed the one divergence makes the evidence conclusive that collusion existed between Shakespeare and Dekker in 1599, and that Shakespeare used both his own and Dekker's versions of the play in making his revision of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609. It will be noticed that the only divergence between the characters in these two scenes is that Deiphobus takes the place of Troilus in Dekker's plot ; but when it is remembered that Dekker and Chettle—in changing this play, which I hold had displeased the Earl of Essex—did so with the object of carrying on the theatrical warfare with Marston, Chapman and Florio, it becomes evident that they would purposely subordinate the Troilus and Cressida phase of the play to the camp scenes and the satire upon their opponents. It was evidently to disguise the identity of the play that they changed the name from *Troilus and Cressida* to *Agamemnon*, and it appears evident also that they introduced Deiphobus instead of Troilus in order to minimise the name of Troilus in the play. It is plain that Deiphobus was not one of the characters in Shakespeare's original plot, while in Dekker's plot he is introduced in seven out of the ten scenes where the names are legible, while Troilus appears only in three scenes. From this I infer that the Troilus and Cressida as well as the Pandarus features of the play as set forth by

Dekker and Chettle, were greatly minimised ; that Diomedes's relations with Cressida were intended by them to represent Florio's relations with Mistress Davenant ; that Chapman and his clique represented the Greek camp, and Shakespeare and his allies the Trojan camp. It is likely, however, that in the frequent revisions of both Shakespeare's and Dekker's versions, which took place in later years during the continuance of the warfare, this grouping was lost sight of and new characterisations and issues introduced. It is clear, for instance, that Thersites was introduced later ; he is not mentioned in Dekker's early plot, which is a recast of Shakespeare's early *Troilus and Cressida*. Had such a character as Thersites appeared as a caricature of one of the opposing clique, Dekker would have retained it. It is not likely that the Ajax of Dekker's early plot represented Jonson, who collaborated with Dekker in *Robert II.* in this year.

That Deiphobus was not a character in Shakespeare's early *Troilus and Cressida* appears evident from the fact that in the twenty-four scenes of the 1609 edition of the play he appears only twice and speaks only one unimportant line upon each appearance, while Troilus takes a prominent part in eleven scenes. It appears likely that the retention of Deiphobus in the revision was accidental, as in the case of Essex in Shakespeare's revision of *King John*, where this character—prominent in *The Troublesome Raigne*—appears only once in the new play, and speaks only three lines upon this appearance.

In Dekker's fragmentary plot eighteen characters are introduced, and all but one of these are characterised in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, and even the one not characterised—Polyxena—is mentioned by Shakespeare.

When the divergent sources of the plot, characters and action of *Troilus and Cressida* are considered—Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseyde*, Caxton's *Recuyell of the historyes of Troye*, Lydgate's *Troy Book* and Chapman's *Homer*—it appears unlikely that all of the characters of Dekker's plot should appear in Shakespeare's play unless there was some definite connection between the writers of the two plays.

That the plot under discussion is a fragment of Dekker's *Troilus and Cressida* or *Agamemnon*, and that it pertains to the year 1599, under which date Dekker's play is mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary*, is evidenced by the facts that Mr. Jones, who is mentioned as one of the actors, left Henslowe in 1602, and that Mr. Hunt, who is also mentioned as an actor, was referred to in the *Diary* in 1597 as Thomas Hunt. As an actor was not dignified by the title "Mr." until he had become a sharer, the mention of "Mr. Hunt" refers to a later date than 1597. These indications, coupled with the fact that no play other than Dekker's *Troyelles and Cresseida*—*Agamemnon* based upon the *Iliad* is mentioned in the *Diary* in these years, definitely indicates this plot as a fragment of that of Dekker's play.

While this incomplete plot is only a portion of the whole of the plot of Dekker's play, the fact that the name of *Agamemnon* does not appear in what remains makes it probable that it is a draft of Dekker and Chettle's first plot of the play as it existed while they still worked upon it as *Troyelles and Cresseida*.

It is unlikely that Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was again performed by his company after 1598 until after the death of Essex in 1601, when it could no longer give

offence; but it shall later be shown that it was frequently presented after this date, which makes it likely that it was materially revised during these years and new satire and characterisations introduced.

When the bitter spirit of the Thersites scenes in *Troilus and Cressida* is compared with the acrid pessimism of *Timon of Athens*, which was written or revised at about the same time that *Troilus and Cressida* was revised for publication in 1609, it is presumable that Shakespeare added a large amount of new matter to *Troilus and Cressida* at that period. I am inclined to the opinion that *Timon of Athens* was the latest play Shakespeare worked upon in London, and that he left it unfinished. Textual evidence and a comparison of portions of the Shakespearean parts of this play with work produced by Shakespeare from 1599 to 1601 leads me to infer that *Timon of Athens* may originally have been begun shortly before Essex's death and that it reflected the defection of certain poets and courtiers from Essex as his fortunes declined, and that it was left unfinished at the time of Essex's death, and taken up again, but not completed by Shakespeare, when he left London in 1609.

CHAPTER XXI

INDICATING THE ORIGINAL COMPOSITION OF *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* IN 1596, AND ITS REVISIONS IN 1598, 1602 AND 1609

IN a former essay¹ I demonstrated the fact that *Troilus and Cressida* was produced in 1598 as a satire upon George Chapman's translation of *Seven Books of Homer's Iliad*, and that it was revised and published in 1609 in answer to new hostilities by Chapman against Shakespeare in that year. Since that time, however, I have been enabled to identify Mistress Davenant of Oxford as the "dark lady" of the Sonnets, to reveal Florio's intimate connection with the sonnet story and to restore the Sonnets to their sequences and chronological order. The new light which these discoveries have shed upon the progressive stages of Shakespeare's literary development and upon the manner in which he reflected in the plays the phases of contemporary life in which he was interested, enables me to place a still earlier date than 1598 for the composition of *Troilus and Cressida* in its earliest form. While I am still convinced that *Troilus and Cressida* was produced in 1598 and revised and published in 1609 as satires upon Chapman and his clique, I am now assured by textual and topical evidence in this play reflecting an

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*. 1903.

earlier phase of the sonnet story, that it was first written in 1596, with the intention of depicting Florio as Pandarus to Southampton's Troilus, with the "dark lady," inferentially, reflected as Cressida. It is unlikely, however, that it was produced upon the stage before it was revised in 1598.

Between the end of 1594 and the end of 1597, Southampton, when in England, was evidently much in Florio's company and saw comparatively little of Shakespeare. In the light of the relations I have indicated to have existed between Florio and Mistress Davenant in 1598, it appears evident that Florio and Southampton renewed their acquaintance with Mistress Davenant during these years. In portraying Florio as Pandarus in 1596, it appears likely that Shakespeare reflected somewhat similar conditions in Florio's relations to Southampton at that period.

The frequent revisions of *Troilus and Cressida* in later years, the resulting textual changes in those early portions of the play that were retained and the fact that work of Dekker's is still incorporated in the play makes it difficult—by textual evidence alone—to choose passages that may definitely be assigned to the first form of the play. There has, however, been enough of an early flavour retained to lead the most acute text critics—who recognise one phase of the play as pertaining to 1598—to infer that the love episode, in some form, pertained to a still earlier period.

I believe I have made it evident that Shakespeare reflected the intimacy between Southampton and Florio in the relations between the Prince and Falstaff in *Henry IV*.¹ It is probable, then, that Shakespeare had Southampton in mind in making Falstaff refer to "a thief of two-and-twenty,

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

or thereabouts," in the following passage from *Henry IV.*, Part I.:

FAL. Now, Hal, to the news at court : for the robbery, lad, how is that answered ?

PRINCE. O, my sweet beef, I must still be good angel to thee : the money is paid back again.

FAL. O, I do not like that paying back ; 'tis a double labour.

PRINCE. I am good friends with my father, and may do any thing.

FAL. Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou doest, and do it with unwashed hands too.

BARD. Do, my lord.

PRINCE. I have procured thee, Jack, a charge of foot.

FAL. I would it had been of horse. Where shall I find one that can steal well ? O for a fine thief, of the age of *two-and-twenty or thereabouts* ! I am heinously unprovided.

As the Earl of Southampton was twenty-two years old in 1595, I infer that this passage pertains to a revival and revision, or possibly the original composition, of the play in this year ; so, in *Troilus and Cressida*, in a passage which plainly belongs to the earliest form of the play, he again had Southampton in mind :

PANDARUS. Mark him ; note him. O brave Troilus ! Look well upon him, niece ; look you how his sword is bloodied, and his helm more hacked than Hector's ; and how he looks, and how he goes ! *O admirable youth ! he never saw three-and-twenty.* Go thy way, Troilus, go thy way ! Had I a sister were a grace, or a daughter a goddess, he should take his choice. O admirable man ! Paris ? Paris is dirt to him ; and, I warrant Helen, to change, would give an eye to boot.

This I take also to suggest the year 1596, when Southampton was between twenty-two and twenty-three years of age. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the 1594 edition of *Willobie his Avis* depicts Avis's numerous suitors as unsuccessful in their assaults upon her virtue,

and that Southampton's apologies, shown in the third *book* of sonnets, were tendered for his quest of the "dark lady" in the same year, which, however, proved unsuccessful, and that he now was enamoured of Elizabeth Vernon and, consequently, that Shakespeare's forgiveness, shown in the same *book* of sonnets, and inferentially reflected in Valentine's forgiveness of Proteus under similar circumstances in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, does not bear the unpleasantly acquiescent significance feared by some critics. From the beginning of Shakespeare's acquaintance with Florio as Southampton's tutor in 1591, he was aware of the moral obliquity of the man's character, and recognised his insidious and derogatory influence upon Southampton. The passing years had not helped Florio to live down the reputation Spenser had given him over two decades before, but had rather accentuated his early characteristics. The youthful Menalcas had become a middle-aged roué and misleader of youth. In depicting him as Pandarus, Shakespeare was evidently not drawing an exaggerated picture, but was again "holding the mirror up to nature."

When Roydon reissued *Willobie his Avis* in 1596, he made it plain by a number of palpable hints in the poems appended to the new edition, and by the issue of *Penelope's Complaint* at the same time, that Avis was no longer, as in 1594, "unspotted and unconquered"; Menalcas had again been successful in his "underfonging" tricks.

The major portion of what is called by critics "the love story" of *Troilus and Cressida* reflects conditions in the lives of Florio, Southampton and the "dark lady" in 1596. If these scenes be separated from the remainder of the play and be subjected to the accepted metrical tests, they will appear plainly of this period. It is possible,

however, that the play may never have been presented in its earliest form, and that its "displeasing" presentation before the Earl of Essex in the autumn of 1598, in its revised form, as a warning to Essex and a satire upon Chapman's Homer, was its first and only presentation until after the death of Essex, in 1601. It was revised in 1602-3, and new satire introduced as an answer to Jonson's *Poetaster*, which attacked both Shakespeare and Dekker, and not Marston and Dekker, as is usually supposed.

When Shakespeare produced *Troilus and Cressida* in 1598, he intended it as an attack upon Chapman and his clique, including Florio and, incidentally, Marston, who was now associated with Chapman and who, in this year, produced his *Pigmalion's Image*¹—a satirical poem in the metre of *Venus and Adonis*, which, in his *Scourge of Villanie* issued later in the same year, he admitted to have been intended as a satire upon the amorous poetry of the period. His connection with Chapman, as well as a rather unfriendly allusion to Shakespeare in his *Scourge of Villanie*, gives warrant for the conclusion that he was numbered amongst the "great faction of good writers," that Florio asserted was at this time banded with him against Shakespeare. Early in this year (1598) Florio published his *World of Wordes*, and in an address to the reader, attacked Shakespeare in answer to his caricature of Florio as Falstaff in the first part of *Henry IV.*, which was revised and presented upon the public stage and, no doubt, also at Court, in the previous winter, and published a few months later. Shakespeare answered Florio by the production of the

¹ The peculiar spelling of Pygmalion as Pigmalion has been suggested by Mr. Jacob Feis as a satirical allusion to Shakespeare; a suggestion with which I concur, seeing that Florio and Jonson allude to him by similar terms at this period.

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second part of *Henry IV.*, the revision of *Love's Labour's Won* into *All's Well that Ends Well*, the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and also by the production of *Troilus and Cressida* with the character of Pandarus accentuated. Several peculiar Italian words used in this play by either Shakespeare or Dekker give evidence that they at this time made use of Florio's newly published Italian-English Dictionary.¹

It is improbable that the characterisation of Cressida at this period differed from that which appears in the present play. Shakespeare's source for this phase of the play was undoubtedly Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseyde*, which he follows very closely. Dekker and Chettle, however, departed from Shakespeare and depicted Cressida as ending as a leper and beggar.

¹ We are assured that Shakespeare had little or no knowledge of Italian, and it is doubtful that Dekker had any. In this play several Italian words are used for which the writer was undoubtedly indebted to Florio's *World of Wordes*, issued in 1598. In Act v. Scene ii. we have one of these words used in a sense that has puzzled commentators.

THERSITES. How the devil luxury, with his fat rump and potato-finger, tickles these together! Fry, lechery, fry!

The English word "potato" is an evident misprint for the Italian word "*pottuta*," which Florio gives in his dictionary. He seems to have endeavoured to include a large number of words of this type, and to have exhausted even their little known synonyms. His extensive knowledge of this nature is thoroughly characteristic of the man as Shakespeare and Dekker knew him.

Again in Act iv. Scene ii. we have a similar word which has always been misunderstood.

PANDARUS. Ha, ha! Alas, poor wretch! ah, poor capocchia! hast not slept to-night? would he not, a naughty man, let it sleep?

Certain commentators have explained this word as a fabricated feminine form of the Italian word "*capocchio*," which means a fool or simpleton. They apparently never examined Florio's dictionary, where the word "*capocchia*," as Shakespeare uses it, is shown as meaning *præputium*. I am of the opinion that Thersites was introduced into this play by Dekker some time after 1599, and that the passages quoted above are from his pen.

Troilus and Cressida being revised so often and with so many different purposes, containing also, as it undoubtedly does, traces of Dekker and Chettle's work of different periods, it is impossible now clearly to distinguish all of the characterisation and satire intended. It is evident, however, that Florio was pilloried as Pandarus; that Chapman's Homeric translations were satirised, and that the Earl of Essex was warned of the espionage of Cecil's agents and counselled regarding the neglect of his responsibilities as a Counsellor of State, and the peevish attitude towards the Queen in which he indulged at this time which gave his followers so much anxiety.

While it is likely that Jonson is caricatured as Ajax, this feature of the play was not intended by Shakespeare in 1598, but was introduced later than 1599, for reasons of their own, by Dekker and Chettle, who were then antagonistic to Jonson.

It is evident that Thersites did not appear in Shakespeare's play in 1598, nor in Dekker and Chettle's play in 1599. It was introduced some time after the latter year. This character is usually supposed to have been intended to caricature Marston, but as Shakespeare had then no personal quarrel with Marston, and Dekker had, I infer that Thersites was introduced into the play by Dekker and later adapted to his own purpose by Shakespeare. While Shakespeare's hand is recognisable in some portions of the Thersites passages, these passages evidently pertain to 1609. As Marston retired from connection with the stage in 1607, Shakespeare's enlarged Thersites of the revision of 1609 cannot refer to him; I am, therefore, still of the opinion I advanced in 1903 that Shakespeare in 1609 intended Thersites for George Chapman, whose bitter, envious and

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repellent disposition—as it is exhibited for years in his jealousy of Shakespeare—it portrays rather than caricatures.

A consideration of the nature of the Homeric allusions in other of Shakespeare's plays composed or revised within a year or two of 1598 will show that the bitter phase of the "love story," developed in 1598, occupied his mind between that date and the beginning of 1600-1.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, which was composed late in 1597, Shakespeare gives us evidence that while he had the subject of *Troilus and Cressida* then in mind, this bitter phase had not yet developed. In Act v. Scene i. we have the following lines :

The moon shines bright :—In such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
And they did make no noise : in such a night,
Troilus, methinks, mounted the Trojan walls,
And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents,
Where Cressid lay that night.

While these lines show that his interest had before this time been attracted by the story, their spirit differs entirely from that developed in the play nearly a year later, when Southampton's protracted absence and disgrace, the apparent triumph of his opponents—Florio and Chapman—with their publications of this year (1598), and his mistress' disloyalty in parting with his sonnets to his enemies, had all come to his cognizance. There is no bitterness against Cressida in the lines quoted above. There is, however, the same spirit of dejection and self-accusing guilt as that displayed in the sixth *book* of sonnets and in those sonnets to the "dark lady" that are plainly of the same period. That she is unfaithful he knows, yet will not know.

Why should my heart think that a several plot
Which my heart knows the wide world's common place ?

His desire to preserve his faith in her combats his knowledge. But it was neither his cognizance of her infidelity, nor a realisation of his own mental and moral stultification that brought him to the breaking point with her and developed the resentment and bitterness exhibited in *Troilus and Cressida*, and in every reference to the Homeric story made in the plays composed or materially revised in the following two or three years.

When Shakespeare composed *Troilus and Cressida* in 1598 he knew that this woman had betrayed him to his detractors, and that his sonnets written to her were in Florio's hands, and also that Florio had played the part of pander for her, and that she was now living loosely in London.

I maintain that the medley of poems by various hands entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim* published in 1599, with Shakespeare's name as author upon the title-page, was not a haphazard collection gathered indiscriminately by its publisher, but that its collection and publication were the result of collusion on the part of Roydon, Chapman, Florio and their clique. They added to the collection a sufficient number of Shakespeare's known verses to give plausibility to the use of his name as author. In using the title of *The Passionate Pilgrim* (which has no possible connection with the contents as a whole) in conjunction with the name of Shakespeare as author, they meant to indicate his past relations with the "dark lady." They intended also to synchronise the issue of this book with the proposed publication of *Willobie his Avis* in this year; and included the 138th and 144th sonnets, and procured and introduced more stanzas in the same metre and dealing with the same subject as those verses of *Willobie his Avis* which introduce H. W. and W. S. into

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that poem, in order to give an appearance of truth to the picture which Roydon draws of Shakespeare in the capacity of pander to the Earl of Southampton.

Where did the instigators of this publication secure the 138th and 144th sonnets if not from the woman to whom they were written? However they obtained them, whether surreptitiously or otherwise, it is evident they got them from her, and that Shakespeare believed that she had lightly betrayed him. That he resented and protested against the use of his name as author to a later issue of this publication is a matter of record. It is also the only record of such a protest upon his part, though his name was several times afterwards used fraudulently by publishers.

All the allusions to the Homeric story made by Shakespeare in plays composed or revised between the autumn of 1598 and the beginning of 1601 refer to those disagreeable features of the play.

In *As You Like It*, which was very evidently composed in the autumn of 1599, we have the lines :

Troilus had his brains dashed out with a Grecian club and yet
he did what he could to die before, and he is one of the
patterns of love.

In *Henry IV.*, Act II. Scene i., composed before the autumn of 1599 :

PISTOL. And from the powdering tub of infamy
Fetch forth the larger kite of Cressid's kind.

Again in Act IV. Scene v. :

Like a base pandar, hold the chamber door.

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. Scene iii., composed early in 1599 :

PISTOL. Shall I Sir Pandarus of Troy become
And by my side wear steel? Then Lucifer take all.

And again in Act v. Scene v. :

To whom you should have been a pandar.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, composed in the summer or autumn of 1599 :

In loving, Leander the good swimmer, Troilus the first employer of pandars, and a whole bookful of these quondam carpet-mongers, whose names yet run smoothly in the even road of a blank verse, etc.

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, revised late in 1598 :

I am Cressid's uncle
That dare leave two together.

In *Twelfth Night*, Act III. Scene i., which was Shakespeare's last real comedy, composed late in 1600 :

I would play Lord Pandarus of Phrygia, sir, to bring a Cressida to this Troilus.

I have already given or shall yet give conclusive evidence that all of the plays from which these extracts are taken were composed or drastically revised between the autumn of 1598 and January 1601. All of the extracts quoted reflect what is called the "love story," and the same bitter and pessimistic spirit that is exhibited in the play. It appears evident then that Shakespeare had developed this phase of the play anterior to the composition of the passages quoted.

I have suggested that Shakespeare besides travestyng the Homeric story as a satire upon Chapman's translations (which were fulsomely dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whom Chapman likened to Achilles), tacitly appropriated and expanded the personal similitude suggested by Chapman and exhibited Achilles as being involved in an amorous intrigue, and on this account neglecting his military responsibilities ; thereby reflecting the actual conditions in

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Essex's case that gave his friends and followers such concern at this period (1598). Early in February, Rowland Whyte wrote to Sir Robert Sidney :

" I knowe you wil be sory to heare what grieues me to wryte of. It is spied out by envye, that the Earl of Essex is againe fallen in love with his fairest B. It cannot choose but come to the Queen's ears ; then is he undone, and all they that depend upon his favor. I pray to God it may not turne to his harm. Of these matters I wold not wryte but to your Lordship, for they concern me not and not fitt for me to prie into them, neither doe I, but they come to me by meere chance ; and I hope there is no such thing, but the malice of a wicked world wherein we live. (7000) daughter that lives at Court is said to be the instrument of these proceedings, you knowe whome I mean."

The same rumours that came to Rowland Whyte by chance regarding Essex's conduct undoubtedly reached Shakespeare also and others of Essex's friends or followers still more vitally interested in his political fortunes. I think it is unlikely that Shakespeare would dare to caution Essex so openly as he does in this play unless incited to it by some of Essex's and Southampton's intimate friends.

ULYSS. Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,
A great-sized monster of ingritudes :
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are devour'd
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon
As done : perseverance, dear my lord,
Keeps honour bright : to have done, is to hang
Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail
In monumental mockery. Take the instant way ;
For honour travels in a strait so narrow,
Where one but goes abreast : keep then the path ;
For emulation hath a thousand sons
That one by one pursue : if you give way,
Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,

Like to an enter'd tide they all rush by
 And leave you hindmost :
 Or, like a gallant horse fall'n in first rank,
 Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,
 O'er-run and trampled on : then what they do in
 present,
 Though less than yours in past, must o'ertop yours ;
 For time is like a fashionable host
 That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,
 And with his arms outstretch'd, as he would fly,
 Grasps in the comer : welcome ever smiles,
 And farewell goes out sighing. O, let not virtue seek
 Remuneration for the thing it was ;
 For beauty, wit,
 High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,
 Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all
 To envious and calumniating time.
 One touch of nature makes the whole world kin ;
 That all with one consent praise new-born gawds,
 Though they are made and moulded of things past,
 And give to dust that is a little gilt
 More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.
 The present eye praises the present object :
 Then marvel not, thou great and complete man,
 That all the Greeks begin to worship Ajax ;
 Since things in motion sooner catch the eye
 Than what not stirs. The cry went once on thee,
 And still it might, and yet it may again,
 If thou wouldst not entomb thyself alive
 And case thy reputation in thy tent,
 Whose glorious deeds, but in these fields of late,
 Made emulous missions 'mongst the gods themselves,
 And drave great Mars to faction.

ACHIL. Of this my privacy

I have strong reasons.

ULYSS. But 'gainst your privacy

The reasons are more potent and heroical :
 'Tis known, Achilles, that you are in love
 With one of Priam's daughters.

ACHIL. Ha ! known ?

ULYSS. Is that a wonder ?

The providence that's in a watchful state
 Knows almost every grain of Plutus' gold,

Finds bottom in the uncomprehensive deeps,
 Keeps place with thought, and almost like the gods
 Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.
 There is a mystery, with whom relation
 Durst never meddle, in the soul of state ;
 Which hath an operation more divine
 Than breath or pen can give expressure to :
 All the commerce that you have had with Troy
 As perfectly is ours as yours, my lord ;
 And better would it fit Achilles much
 To throw down Hector than Polyxena :
 But it must grieve young Pyrrhus now at home,
 When fame shall in our islands sound her trump ;
 And all the Greekish girls shall tripping sing
 " Great Hector's sister did Achilles win,
 But our great Ajax bravely beat down him."
 Farewell, my lord : I as your lover speak ;
 The fool slides o'er the ice that you should break.

So palpable a reflection of his own case was evidently not lost upon Essex. One presentation of the play before him was probably all that was necessary to bring the parable home. As Shakespeare and his company were at this period largely dependent for their patronage upon the gentry and nobility, and especially upon Essex's adherents, it stands to reason, its object having been accomplished, that in deference to Essex the performance of *Troilus and Cressida* would not be continued in the form that had given offence. It is clearly the " displeasing play " mentioned in the epilogue to the second part of *Henry IV.* ; which play was produced after *Troilus and Cressida*, and presented towards the end of 1598.

As *Troilus and Cressida* was produced in this year primarily, however, as a satire upon Chapman's Homeric translations, it is evident that Shakespeare, a few months later, disposed of it to his allies, Dekker and Chettle, who revised it and sold it to Henslowe in May or June 1599,

for presentation at the Rose Theatre. In the meantime Chapman and his friends, who had seen or become cognizant through Florio of the performance of *Troilus and Cressida* and of Essex's objection to it, in answer to it revised *Histrionastix* and put it upon the boards. While Marston's hand is generally acknowledged in this play, another style of composition, differing very distinctly from his, has also been recognised in it ; but no other author has ever before been identified. While accepting the opinion of past critics regarding Marston's share in it, I have already adduced convincing evidence¹ that his unknown collaborator was none other than George Chapman, which fact, with other evidence to be developed, fully establishes its anti-Shakespearean intention.

Seeing that Ben Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour* (which was presented by Shakespeare's company in December 1599) makes a distinct reference to *Histrionastix*, it is clear that its public presentation in its revised form, with its significant allusion to *Troilus and Cressida* and to Shakespeare, preceded the composition of Jonson's play. I am convinced that it also preceded the public production of *Agamemnon* by Henslowe's company, and that Dekker and Chettle, recognising Marston's intention in *Histrionastix*, replied to him in this revision of *Troilus and Cressida*, which, shortly following the production of *Histrionastix*, they presented under the name of *Agamemnon*. The title being altered from *Troilus and Cressida* to *Agamemnon*, we may reasonably infer that Dekker and Chettle's revisionary work would to some extent have to do with this character. The camp scene in Act I. Scene iii., in which *Agamemnon* is first introduced into the play, is

¹ *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*. Bernard Quaritch. 1920.

usually imputed by critics to a period of revision. Now it is likely that Shakespeare in order to recover ownership of this play in 1609 revised it so thoroughly that comparatively little of Dekker and Chettle's work remains. In this act and scene, however, there is a passage that has been suggested by several critics as a reference to Marston. It is very evidently a trace of Dekker and Chettle's work. As it alludes to *Histrionastix* it must have been written after the production of that play in 1599.

This significant passage is spoken by Dekker and Chettle's pretended protagonist :

AGAMEMNON. Speak, Prince of Ithaca ; and be't of less expect
That matter needless, of importless burthen,
Divide thy lips, than we are confident,
When rank Thersites opes his *mastic* jaws,
We shall hear music, wit and oracle.

The word " mastic " has been frequently suggested as an allusion to either *Histrionastix* or *Satiromastix*. This latter play, however, was Dekker's answer to *Histrionastix* and other offences of the Marston-Chapman clique, and was written in 1601 with pro-Shakespearean intention. This peculiar word was evidently an allusion to *Histrionastix* and to Marston, who in the play at this phase of its development was caricatured as Thersites. It is evident that this word does not belong to Shakespeare's play, nor to the earliest form of Dekker's *Agamemnon*. In Dekker and Chettle's later revision of the play, Shakespeare was evidently characterised as Ulysses ; the passage quoted, while a satirical stroke at his opponent, is also a compliment to him, which it is extremely unlikely he would pay to himself.

Returning to a consideration of the play as a warning to

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Again, the shock which Achilles is supposed to sustain when informed that his amour is known, is quite incompatible with the moral latitude Shakespeare allows his other Greeks and Trojans in similar affairs. When this in turn is adapted to Essex's alleged amours with Elizabeth Bridges and others, and the disastrous results predicted by Essex's friends in the event of his escapades reaching the Queen's ears borne in mind, it loses its apparent incongruity.¹

Whoever else amongst the onlookers of the time may have been deceived regarding the relentless nature of Cecil's hostility to Essex, it is clear that Shakespeare had no illusions concerning the little Secretary's intentions and had already begun to realise some conception of his almost uncanny power.

The first presentation of this play having been intended

that Florio was secretly numbered amongst these. He became an employé and protégé of Southampton's through Lord Burghley's influence, and I find him being used by Cecil on a secret mission to Scotland on 10th August 1600, only six months before Essex's disaster; when the rats were scurrying from the sinking ship.

In the *Calendar State Papers*, 10th August 1600, a translation from the Italian of a letter from Nicolo Molina to Giovanni Florio, in Scotland, reads: "I sent you last week the answers as I do now by the post sent into Scotland according to orders left me by the Queen's Secretary. I should like to hear of their receipt."

¹ It gives me pleasure to acknowledge that when in 1913 in *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, I suggested the intention of the production of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1598 as a warning to Essex, Mr. William Poel, with whom at that time I was unacquainted, had reached the same conclusion and made the same suggestion in his *Shakespeare in the Theatre*, which passed through the press at the same time. Mr. Poel, whose practical knowledge of the Elizabethan drama in its relation to stage conventions and conditions is unsurpassed by any living critic, is one of the few students who has long recognised the potential historical and autobiographical light to be gained from a consideration of Shakespeare's plays from a topical point of view.

as a warning to Essex regarding Cecil's espionage, it is likely that many other similarly admonitory passages were written as advice in an endeavour to lead him to relinquish the peevish and refractory demeanour he exhibited toward the Queen at this immediate period (1598).

That Shakespeare's and Henslowe's companies both presented a play dealing with this subject between 1602 and 1609 will be made evident in the following chapter, and the reasons for Shakespeare's revision and publication of the play in 1609 set forth.

CHAPTER XXII

SHAKESPEARE AND THE SCHOLARS.

1597-1609

IN the light of the present comparative prestige of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson it may be of interest to consider their relative contemporary status and the manner in which they reacted personally upon each other.

Through the centuries which have elapsed since he dominated the literary life of London, Ben Jonson's pugnacious personality somehow forces itself upon our cognizance with an insistence and bulk out of all proportion to the permanent value of his work. As Shakespeare—in Jonson's phrase, expressed at a period of ripened judgment—was "not for an age, but for all time," so Jonson himself was essentially for and of his day, upon which he impressed his personality so powerfully that an intimate sense of the aggressive physical equation, the dominating egotism, and undoubtedly great industry and talents, by which for years he autocratically ruled his circle, still preserve for us a distinct conception of the man; while Shakespeare's gentler individuality has long been lost in or transfigured by the transcendent excellence of his life's work.

Jonson was from ten to twelve years younger than Shakespeare, and first began to receive public notice when the latter was already in the heyday of his career. While the first undoubted record we possess of Jonson's connection

with theatrical affairs is in December 1597, when he is mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary* as receiving part payment on a promised play, he had already been connected with the stage in some capacity for three or four years past. In 1598 Meres mentions him with other well-known writers as "among the best for tragedy," yet no known tragedy of his, of this, or any earlier date is now extant or has been recorded. Whatever plays he may have written before this period, were evidently written for less prominent companies than the Lord Admiral's or Lord Chamberlain's.

In securing the patronage of the Lord Admiral's company for his work in 1597, and of Shakespeare's company in 1598, Jonson attained the real beginning of his career. Though the tradition that the acceptance of his revised *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, by the Lord Chamberlain's company, was due to Shakespeare's influence has been questioned by Jonson's partisan, Gifford, there can be no question of the facts that it was accepted and that Shakespeare was not only a leading sharer in, as well as the principal writer, but also the reader and critic for his company at this time. It was undoubtedly the exercise of Shakespeare's functions in the latter capacity that had previously excited the hostility of Chapman and others. It is palpable then that the patronage of Jonson by the Lord Chamberlain's company was due to Shakespeare's acceptance of his plays.

When Jonson quarrelled with Henslowe in 1598, he left in his hands the plot of an unfinished play for the completion of which Chapman received payment several months later. This leads me to infer that Chapman and Jonson were intimate at this period, though Jonson does not appear openly to have joined issue with him against Shakespeare

until about two years later.¹ It is evident, however, as in the case of Marston, that Jonson's attacks upon Shakespeare were instigated largely by Chapman's persistent malevolence.

Histriomastix was revised and staged by Marston and Chapman as an attack upon Shakespeare late in the summer, or early in the autumn, of 1599, after the production of Dekker and Chettle's *Agamemnon*. In December 1599, Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* was presented by the Lord Chamberlain's company, but in a form differing from the version of the play we now possess. In its present form this play was palpably intended to satirise Shakespeare as Sogliardo and, if we may believe a statement made on the title-page of the Quarto of 1600, this was its original form. The anti-Shakespearean portions of the play must then have been eliminated by Shakespeare's company. In this Quarto the play is significantly called *The Comical Satire of Every Man out of his Humour as it was first composed by the author, B. J.* The title-page also adds the words, "Containing more than hath been publicly spoken or acted." While the truth of this latter statement is palpable in view of the fact that the play was presented by Shakespeare's company, it is improbable that the former statement *as it was first composed by the author* is also true. If it is true it reveals Jonson in disagreeable colours by showing him as forcing Shakespeare's acceptance of a play by the implied threat of presenting it elsewhere as a scurrilous attack upon him, for in its published form it

¹ I find palpable evidence of Chapman's hand in Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* in its original form; when Jonson revised this play he eliminated Chapman's passages. It was probably at this time that he had his quarrel with Marston, who still continued to collaborate with Chapman.

plainly attacks Shakespeare by satirising his recent acquisition of the honour of Arms.

I have already displayed the nature of the aspersions cast upon Shakespeare and his social quality by Chapman and Florio, who refer to him as "butcher," "peasant," "artless idiot," "weak capricious spirit," "*intonsi Catones*," "blood without soul, of false nobility," "Hodge Sowgelder," "Hugh Sot," "Humphrey Swineshead," etc. From 1600 onwards for several years Chapman and Jonson were closely affiliated, and during these years frequently collaborated in plays, Marston at times being associated with them. It has been indicated, and shall later be made evident, that Florio also was intimate with Chapman and Jonson during these years, and that they used, and were on friendly terms with, the same publishers, *i.e.* Bonian and Walley, and Thomas Thorpe.

In depicting Sogliardo, a provincial lout, as acquiring a Coat of Arms, in alluding to the butcher's trade in his description of the blazoning, as well as in his palpable parody of Shakespeare's armorial motto, Jonson merely echoes the note already sounded by his scholastic associates, Chapman and Florio, which they in turn had followed from Greene and Nashe. Shakespeare's provincial breeding, the fact that his father was a butcher, and his grammar school education were the principal bases of aspersions of the scholars against him all through his London career; though from 1594 onwards his relations with Mistress Davenant, and later on Florio's complicity with her, are also satirised. I cannot learn the specific cause of Jonson's newly developed hostility to Shakespeare, which, if the words from the title-page of the Quarto of *Every Man out of his Humour*, "as it was first composed

by the author," are true, must have had its inception before the end of 1599, when Jonson sold the play to Shakespeare's company. It is probable, however, that it was due to jealousy, as in the case of Shakespeare's other dramatic rivals, and that this jealousy was fostered by Chapman and Marston, with the latter of whom Jonson re-established friendly relations sometime in 1600, and at about the same time that he turned against Shakespeare. As he refers in a mildly satirical manner to *Histrionastix* in *Every Man out of his Humour*, and also parodies Marston's peculiarities of style, I infer that when the latter play was presented by the Lord Chamberlain's company Jonson was still perfunctorily an ally of Shakespeare, that the assertion on the title-page of the published Quarto, "as it was first composed by the author," is not true, and that he revised the play for publication as an attack upon Shakespeare shortly after it had run its course on Burbage's stage, where, in competition with the plays produced by Shakespeare in 1599—*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V.*, *Much Ado about Nothing* and *As You Like It*,—it had evidently not proved eminently successful.

Shakespeare's application, through his father in 1596, for the confirmation of an alleged grant of Arms made to his forbears, was finally granted late in 1598 or early in 1599. As the scholars for years past had cast slurs upon his social standing and had twitted him in *Histrionastix*, and elsewhere, in his quality as an actor, with being "within the statute" against vagabonds and sturdy beggars, the legal status of "gentleman" which he now attained added new fuel to their envy, which continued to be exhibited in poems and plays written by Marston, Jonson and Chapman, both singly and in collaboration, between 1600

and 1609. Much of this matter has no doubt now perished, and what remains was changed so frequently by revision for new presentations, or with publication in view, that an exact chronology for the warfare, and a positive identification of all the caricatures and personalities intended are now impossible. Enough data remains, however, to prove that however acrimonious the early dispute between Jonson and Marston may have been previous to the end of 1599, from that time forward until about 1606 and 1607 they were friends, and that a portion of Jonson's satire against Marston, written in this earlier period, was later revised into a satire upon Shakespeare and his supporters. In like manner it may also be shown that at least one early satire of Marston's against Jonson was changed, in collaboration with Chapman, after the beginning of 1600 into a satire against Shakespeare and published in the following year.

While it is not likely that Jonson was an Italian scholar, the easy manner in which he seems to have acquired learning, coupled with his acquaintance with Florio, would give him some knowledge of that language. In making use of the names Sogliardo and Sordido for characters in *Every Man out of his Humour*, he chose Italian words expressive of the type of the dramatic characters he presents. Florio's definitions in his *Worlde of Wordes* for Sordido are, a covetous wretch, a pennyfather, a niggard, a pinchpenny, a miser ; and for Sogliardo are, a mocker, a scoffer, a quipper, a flouter, a frumper, a jester ; also slovenly, sluttish, hoggish, a lubbard, a loggerhead, a gull, a fool, a flatterer and a cogger. Sordido is intended for Henslowe, and Sogliardo for Shakespeare, with both of whom Jonson had recently taken umbrage, and it is probable—if the title-page of the Quarto of this play speaks the truth—both

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caricatures were intended either to blackmail or bludgeon these theatrical managers into a material recognition of the writer's dramatic excellence.

A comparison of the ignorant, avaricious and tight-fisted Sordido with Henslowe's self-revelation of similar characteristics in his *Diary*, will show his resemblance to the caricature. If read between the lines, Henslowe's *Diary* displays the writer as acquisitiveness personified ; this, with the piety expressed in his letters to Alleyn and the superstitious ignorance displayed in the extraordinary medical receipts, incantations and charms which he preserves, closely matches Sordido's greed and his credulous faith in Almanacs. The long lists of plays, the presentation or purchase of which Henslowe records, were to him merely so much merchandise ; he had not the slightest idea of their literary value or interest in it beyond gate receipts ; he seldom even spells the titles correctly. His ingenious phonetical spelling, however, preserves for us a fair idea of the provincialism of his speech : January he generally renders Jenewary ; Cardinal, Carnowele ; above, abouff ; making, mackynge ; taking, tackynge ; starch, starce ; Shrovetide, Sraftetyd. While he appears to have been honest according to his lights, he was evidently a hard bargainer, and made it a method of his business to keep both the actors and writers who worked for him in his debt, in order to hold them to his theatres. While Sogliardo may not originally have been intended for Shakespeare, it is palpable that his recent acquisition of Arms is caricatured.

SOG. I' faith, I thank them ; I can write myself gentleman now ; here's my patent, it cost me thirty pound, by this breath.

PUNT. A very fair coat, well charged, and full of armory.

SOG. Nay, it has as much variety of colors in it, as you have seen a coat have ; how like you the crest, sir ?

PUNT. I understand it not well, what is't ?

SOG. Marry, sir, it is your boar without a head, rampant. A boar without a head, that's very rare !

CAR. Ay, and rampant too ! troth, I commend the herald's wit, he has decyphered him well : a swine without a head, without brain, wit, anything indeed, ramping to gentility. You can blazon the rest, signior, can you not ?

SOG. O, ay, I have it in writing here of purpose ; it cost me two shillings the tricking.

CAR. Let's hear, let's hear.

PUNT. It is the most vile, foolish, absurd, palpable, and ridiculous escutcheon that ever this eye survived.—Save you, good monsieur Fastidious. (*They salute as they meet in the walk.*)

CAR. Silence, good knight ; on, on.

SOG. (*Reads.*) *Gyrony of eight pieces ; azure and gules ; between three plates, a chevron engrailed checquy, or, vert, and ermins ; on a chief argent, between two ann'lets sable, a boar's head, proper.*

CAR. How's that ! on a chief argent ?

SOG. (*Reads.*) *On a chief argent, a boar's head proper, between two ann'lets sable.*

CAR. 'Slud, it's a hog's cheek and puddings in a pewter field, this.

SOG. How like you them, signior ?

PUNT. Let the word be, *Not without mustard* : your crest is very rare, sir.

CAR. A frying-pan to the crest, had had no fellow.

It is apparent that such a palpable parody of Shakespeare's *Non Sans Droit* as Jonson's "Not without mustard," and, in fact, the whole of the passage quoted, must have been added or restored after the play had been presented by Shakespeare's company.

The character of Asper is plainly intended for Jonson himself, while Malicente is intended for Chapman, whose gorge was roused at Shakespeare's material-prosperity, as was Malicente's at that of Sogliardo. Chapman, like Malicente, constantly bewails his own impecunious condition and lack of appreciation by a material-minded world. Carlo Buffone is evidently intended for Thomas Dekker.

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Shift is a faint reflection of Boabdil of *Every Man in his Humour* and a forecast of Tucca in *The Poetaster*; all three being weak but palpable imitations of Parolles and Falstaff. When Jonson developed the character of Tucca he was aware of the fact that Falstaff represented Florio, and intended Tucca as a parody of Shakespeare's caricature. I shall show later that he reproduces phrases of Florio's in Tucca's speeches, and that he suggests his time-serving instability and selfishness in that character. While Jonson intended Tucca more as a parody of Shakespeare's satire than as a direct point at Florio, we may judge that his estimation of the "resolute John's" personality and character was much the same as that of Shakespeare's.

The term "The War of the Theatres" and the nebulous conception of the underlying causes of the dramatic re-criminations usually conveyed by the expression are due to the fact that critics have accepted certain statements of Jonson's at an undue value and have consequently regarded him and his interests as the storm centre of the affair. In the Apologetical Dialogue between two imaginary characters and the author, appended to *The Poetaster*—which plainly was written years after the composition of the play—Jonson, who in the intervening years had evidently been criticised for his attack upon Shakespeare in that play, attempts an explanation which, while it does not explain, at least shows that he was then ashamed of his former attitude towards Shakespeare, whose reputation had steadily enhanced in the seven years since he had left London. It is probable indeed that Shakespeare had already died when the Apologetical Dialogue was penned. The first Folio of Jonson's works, for which this dialogue

may have been written, was published in the year of Shakespeare's death :

Now for the players, it is true, I tax'd them,
And yet but some ; and those so sparingly,
As all the rest might have sat still unquestion'd,
Had they but had the wit or conscience
To think well of themselves. But impotent, they,
Thought each man's vice belong'd to their whole tribe ;
And much good do't them ! What they have done 'gainst me
I am not moved with : if it gave them meat,
Or got them clothes, 'tis well ; that was their end.
Only amongst them, I am sorry for
Some better natures, by the rest so drawn,
To run in that vile line.

The statement made by Jonson in the Dialogue—

. . . three years

They did provoke me with their petulant styles
On every stage—

originated the term " The War of the Theatres " and has led critics to suppose that these dramatic recriminations lasted only three years ; and Jonson's statement to Drummond of Hawthornden, made in 1618, that he had originally written *The Poetaster* against Marston, with whom he had frequently quarrelled, has misled them into the belief that Marston was continuously allied with Dekker against Jonson during these three years, and that the quarrel ended with the production of *The Poetaster* in 1601. There is no reason to doubt Jonson's statement to Drummond, that *The Poetaster* was originally directed against Marston ; but if his statement be true, *The Poetaster* in its original form was produced sometime before 1601. I shall give evidence that Marston and Jonson were reconciled late in 1599 or early in 1600, and that each of them then, by revision, transformed satires which they had previously written against the other into satires against Shakespeare.

Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment* is probably the play in which—as Jonson told Drummond—Marston had represented him “as given to venerie in his youth.” It is plainly a rewritten play that had appeared upon the boards in an earlier form, or forms. Either the Jack Drum portions or the Pasquil and Katherine phase of the play, and probably the former, was introduced in 1600 when the play was changed from a satire against Jonson to an attack on Shakespeare. Both Brabant Senior and Mamon were evidently introduced at this time, and after the publication of *Every Man out of his Humour*. Brabant Senior is intended for Shakespeare, and Mamon, who is a palpable reflection of Sordido, is intended for Henslowe. Marston is Brabant Junior, and Jonson is Planet, with whom Brabant Junior—previously at odds—now becomes reconciled. The name “John fo de King” has puzzled critics and some have apprehended in it an anagrammatical intention, but no anagram has hitherto been suggested. This character is represented as a Frenchman of libidinous proclivities, who makes his living as a teacher of languages. It is evident that the words “fo de king” mean “for the king.” Brabant Senior, who regards fo de King with amusement and as a butt for his wit, feeling confident of the virtue of his wife introduces him to his house and presents him to his wife, who, he pretends, is a courtesan of his acquaintance. He leaves them together, expecting the Frenchman to be incontinently expelled when he makes his customary free advances, instead of which, Madam Brabant proving complacent, fo de King returns and thanks Brabant Senior before his assembled friends, when Brabant Senior, who has imparted to them knowledge of his alleged practical joke, is exhibited as a cuckold.

John fo de King is plainly the teacher of languages, John Florio; the name fo de king being an anagram for Florio—fo le roi; Brabant Senior is Shakespeare, and Brabant's wife, by inference, Mistress Davenant, who had recently become Florio's mistress.

As Mr. Fleay suggested, Sir Edward Fortune is no doubt intended for Edward Alleyn, who built the Fortune Theatre in this year. Mamon, I believe, is Henslowe, and Sir Edward Fortune's daughters, Camelia and Katherine, who are wooed by Brabant Junior, Pasquil, John Ellis and Planet, represent the theatrical companies controlled by Alleyn and Henslowe, whose patronage is sought by Jonson (Planet), Chapman (Pasquil), Marston (Brabant Junior) and John Lyly (John Ellis).

From rather forced references to Fortune in the present form of this play it was evidently presented publicly at the Fortune Theatre in 1600, as well as privately by the Children of Paul's.

In its original form it was, as I have suggested, probably directed against Jonson and, as thought by Mr. Fleay, may have been the play by Marston in which Jonson—as related by him to Drummond—was presented upon the stage in much the same relations to a man and his wife as John fo de King holds in its present version to Brabant Senior and his wife. John fo de King, however, is certainly Florio, and consequently Brabant Senior now intended for Shakespeare. The two latter characters were probably introduced at this period.

Jack Drum's Entertainment at its best must have been a poor performance. In its present form it is plainly a revamped play in which its original plot and action have been made subordinate to a later topical and satirical

intention. What interest it now holds for students is due entirely to this latter phase of the play.

Accepting Brabant Senior as intended by Marston to caricature Shakespeare in 1600, and discounting the spiteful animus of the caricature, if we consider the relative position he occupies to the other persons presented in connection with known facts and traditions concerning him, it may assist us in realising a conception of his actual dramatic and social status which stirred the envy of his rivals at this period.

When this play was produced in 1600 Shakespeare was in his thirty-seventh year and had already produced all of his poems and sonnets and more than half of his plays. Since 1594 he had been a prominent sharer in the Lord Chamberlain's company, and from his income from these and other sources was regarded as a prosperous man by his struggling dramatic competitors. As the majority of his plays produced during this period were written primarily for presentation at Court and for private performances at the houses of the gentlemen of the Essex faction, such performances must have added largely to his company's, and consequently to his own, receipts.

While Shakespeare at his death left what was considered at the time a handsome fortune to his family, it was small in comparison with the amount amassed by Edward Alleyn and Henslowe during the same period. Shakespeare, while reasonably provident, evidently spent money with a free hand during the middle and later years of his career. From a number of indications in the attacks made upon him by Chapman I gather that he was of a sociable nature and that he enjoyed congenial convivial company. Chapman, who appears always to have been impecunious, as well as

puritanical in his habit of life, refers several times to his great rival's enjoyment of conviviality and good living. The most notable of such passages is in *The Tears of Peace* (1609), when, alluding to Shakespeare as a "passive man," he writes :

PEACE. Of men there are three sorts that most foes be
To learning and her love, themselves and me.
Active, Passive, and Intellective men,
Whose self-loves learning and her love disdain.

Your Passive men—

So call'd of only passing time in vain—
Pass it in no good exercise, but are
In meats and cups laborious, and take care
To lose without all care their soul-spent time.
And since they have no means nor spirits to climb,
Like fowls of prey, in any high affair,
See how like kites they bangle in the air
To stoop at scraps and garbage, in respect
Of that which men of true peace should select,
And how they trot out in their lives the ring
With idly iterating oft one thing—
A new-fought combat, an affair at sea,
A marriage, or a progress, or a plea.
No news but fits them as if made for them,
Though it be forged, but of a woman's dream ;
And stuff with such stolen ends their manless breasts—
Sticks, rags, and mud—they seem mere puttocks' nests :
Curious in all men's actions but their own,
All men and all things censure, though know none.

The references to kites and puttocks are indicative allusions to Shakespeare's falcon crest, and the remainder of the passage refers to the stock materials he uses for the plots of his plays. In the early *Histriomastix*, where Chapman caricatures Shakespeare as Posthaste he also refers to his convivial habits.

As Shakespeare retired from London in 1609, and Jonson was allied with Florio and Chapman against him,

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except for short intervals between 1601 and 1609, I infer that the traditional wit combats between Jonson and Shakespeare, recorded by Fuller in his *Worthies* in 1662, pertain to an earlier period than 1605, when Jonson's *Volpone* was presented by Shakespeare's company. Fuller does not write from knowledge but merely records a tradition which has since become involved with the fame of Jonson's later years of autocracy in tavern festivities, referred to by Herrick as—

. . . those lyric feasts,
Made at the Sun
The Dog, the Triple Tun—

and by Beaumont in the lines :

What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid ? heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolved to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life.

Fuller's ¹ tradition reads :

“Many were the wit combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man of war ; Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performances. Shakespear, with the English man of war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds by the quickness of his wit and invention.”

In the relations depicted between Planet and Brabant

¹ Curiously, in my search in London for John Davenant's lineage I learned that Fuller's mother was Judith Davenant, daughter of John Davenant senior, who was a first cousin of John Davenant of Oxford's father.

Senior, in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, this convivial competition of wits is suggested, and even though the intention is friendly to Jonson and antagonistic to Shakespeare, the latter as Brabant Senior preserves his good humour, while Jonson as Planet becomes vituperative and threatens Brabant Senior with his sword. Jonson liked to be considered a swordsman, and Marston here evidently intended to flatter his idiosyncrasy. It is significant that Brabant is represented as the host in the entertainment, which was, no doubt, a reflection of the facts in the case regarding the well-to-do and free-handed Shakespeare at this period, when Jonson was only twenty-six years of age and Marston twenty-five, and the latter two, both struggling to make a living. Shakespeare at this time was thirty-seven, well provided in worldly goods and generally acknowledged as the leading dramatist of the day. Two years before Meres had written :

“ The Muses would speak Shakespeare’s fine filed phrase if they could speak English. . . . Among the English he is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage (*i.e.* tragedy and comedy), rivalling the fame of Seneca in the one kind, and of Plautus in the other.”

Brabant Senior is depicted as somewhat older than Planet, and as a man of means who, with a natural air of authority, assumes the rôle of dramatic and literary critic, in which capacity he passes judgment upon writers for the stage, as well as upon the companies for which they write. “ The new poet Mellidus,” by whom Marston evidently refers to himself as indicating his recent play of *Antonio and Mellida*, Brabant Senior is made to describe as

A slight bubbling spirit, a Corke, a Huske.

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For Musus, who, I believe, is intended for Chapman, he expresses dislike and says :

. . . he is as blunt as Paules.

Decius, whom Mr. Fleay suggests is Drayton, he styles :

A surreinde jaded wit, but a rubbes on,

when Planet remarks :

Brabant, thou art like a paire of ballance,
Thou wayest all saving thyselfe.

Brabant Senior is represented as being willing to pay for tavern suppers for the enjoyment he receives from the company of others with whom he bandies wits, and is shown as laughing heartily at his own jests. He is introduced into the play as accompanied by Master Puffe, a gentleman of fashion who smokes constantly, interjecting his conversation with pipe puffs—hence his name. This gentleman expresses a high regard for Brabant Senior, and refers to his

Most accomplit wit, exquisitely accoutred judgment.

Both Brabant Senior and his patron, Master Puffe, wear their hair in the same, and an unusual, style. This was probably long and hanging to the shoulders, as with Shakespeare and Southampton—who at this period were peculiar in this fashion—which later became more general, and still later served to distinguish the Cavalier from the Puritan. Upon being introduced to Planet by Brabant Senior, M. Puffe offers to take the latter into his patronage. The fulsomely complimentary dialogue between Brabant Senior and M. Puffe palpably parodies and even paraphrases the dedication of *Lucrece*, and reflects the complimentary

language of certain of the sonnets to Southampton. I am convinced that Marston here reflects Shakespeare's association with the Earl of Southampton, and that in the lines spoken by M. Puffe, referring to Brabant's

Most accomplit wit, exquisitely accoutred judgment,

we have a reflection of Southampton's expressed opinion of his great protégé—an opinion which Jonson endorsed in later years when Shakespeare had passed away and the heat of rivalry no longer distorted his judgment.

Looking beneath the satire in the play we may apprehend the genial and sociable Shakespeare of tradition, and the honest, open and free nature, excellent phantasy, brave notions, gentle expressions and great facility recorded by Jonson over twenty years later. In 1600, however, in the person of Planet, Marston makes Jonson refer to Shakespeare, in the person of Brabant Senior, as :

Oh, the Prince of fooles ; Unequal'd Ideot :
He that makes costly suppers to trie wits :
And will not stick to spend some twentie pound
To grope a gull : that same perpetuall grin,
That leades his corkie jests, to make them sinke
Into the eares of his deriders, with his owne applause,

which looks very much like the expression of one who had come off second best in the wit contests indicated, and who was jealous of his competitor's worldly prosperity. It is significant, however, that Shakespeare is shown as paying for suppers of which Jonson was no doubt willing enough to partake, and at which—considering his relative prestige with Shakespeare at this period—he probably felt tacitly honoured in being a guest.

Jonson was evidently of an irascible and bullying disposition. Physically he was larger than Shakespeare,

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and while not tall was of a burly figure. All the records of his physical courage are of his own reporting. There is no other record than his own of his having, when in the Low Countries, fought, killed and despoiled an enemy single-handed within sight of the opposing camps. That the sword of Gabriel Spencer, whom he killed in a duel in 1598, was ten inches longer than his own is also from his own account of the affair.

Drummond of Hawthornden, whom Jonson visited for three weeks when in Scotland in 1618, and who was not a partisan in the literary bickerings of London, or in any sense a competitor of Jonson's, reports him as :

"a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest, jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived ; a dissembler of the parts which reign in him ; a bragger of some good that he wanted ; thinketh nothing well done but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done. He is passionately kind or angry, careless either to gain or keep ; vindictive, but if he be well answered at himself ; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst."

A critical reading of *Jack Drum's Entertainment* makes it evident that in its present form it is a revamped play. From the numerous but small traces of Chapman's verbiage and style, which I find in it, I am inclined to believe that it was an old play of Chapman's rewritten by Marston, as was *Histrionomastix*. The lines in which I detect Chapman's hand appear more like passages of the original play, partially rewritten by Marston, than interpolations made by Chapman in a new play, as they have no particular point and

add nothing to the intention of the play as it applies to Shakespeare in 1600; in fact the Pasquil and Katherine passages appear very much like a parody of *Romeo and Juliet*. This leads me to infer that the original play was by Chapman, that it dealt largely with Pasquil and Katherine and was probably known by this title, and that it was composed with anti-Shakespearean intention shortly after the first production of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1594-5. The Jack Drum, fo de King, Mamon and Brabant features were probably introduced by Marston in 1600. While Mamon is palpably a reflection of Jonson's *Sordido*, and intended for Henslowe, his utterances in certain passages appear to parody Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, which was produced late in 1597. This makes it probable that the play passed through several revisions before it assumed its present form.

The following lines defend the Cecilian, or Court party, against the adverse reflections of some recent play :

... What newes at Court ?
Reprobate fashion, when each ragged clowt,
Each Coblers spawn, and yestie, bowzing bench,
Reekes in the face of sacred majestie
His stinking breath of censure !

In the past year Shakespeare had produced *Henry V.*, *Much Ado about Nothing* and *As You Like It*, reflecting, sympathetically, phases of the affairs of Essex and his faction, and the last named, by inference, critical of the Court faction. Marston's reference here, however, is, I believe, either to *Troilus and Cressida* or to Dekker's revision of that play, and more probably to the latter, Dekker being indicated in the expression "Coblers spawn." It shall be shown that similar strictures against the political

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purpose of *Troilus and Cressida* or *Agamemnon* were made by Jonson upon their revival in later years.

While Shakespeare's plays, written during the dangerous years—1598–1600—were so plainly sympathetic with Essex and his cause that his temerity caused comment, Jonson, who has been credited with a fearless independence, really played a cautious and time-serving part. *Sejanus*, written after the accession of James, it is true, speaks out clearly in praise of Essex, but in lines that are plainly Shakespeare's. When Jonson wrote for Shakespeare's company in 1598–9, Essex, while at that time becoming entangled in the meshes of Cecil, appeared yet to the popular eye to be merely temporarily in disfavour with the Queen; a condition from which he had so often emerged triumphantly in the past that his followers, and the world at large, looked confidently to his complete restoration. By the end of 1599 a realisation of impending disaster spread abroad and cautious souls began to mask their sympathies or openly to espouse the side of Cecil, and during 1600 such time-servers flocked in increasing numbers to the Court faction.

It is significant that it was in this year that Marston praised the "Council Chamber" as "the Phoenix nest," and felt that he could afford openly to satirise Shakespeare—Essex's principal supporter amongst the writers for the stage—and that Jonson felt the same impunity and ventured to publish a gross satire upon the grant of Arms which Essex's influence, as Chief of the College of Heraldry, had recently secured for Shakespeare. I shall show later that when the star of Shakespeare's Court favour seemed likely again to be in the ascendant, Jonson returned to bask in its beams, and that he again forsook his fortunes upon its decline.

When Southampton returned from Paris in 1598,

bankrupt in pocket and in disfavour with the Court, Chapman in his poem to Harriots, appended to his *Achilles' Shield*, gloated over Shakespeare's slim prospect of future patronage.¹ From that time onwards until 1601 the fortunes of Essex's party had steadily declined; now the faction was disrupted, Essex had gone to the block with a large number of his followers; others, like Southampton, were in the Tower; a few, such as Sir Henry Wotton, had taken refuge beyond the seas, where they remained until after the accession of James. The Lord Chamberlain's company during this period was regarded askance by the Cecilians; they had been called in question at Essex's trial for performing *Richard II.* upon the day preceding the outbreak. Their disfavour with the Court was accentuated during 1601 by the public presentation of *Julius Cæsar* and the revised *Hamlet*, both plays being recognised by the factions and the populace as sympathetic with the cause of Essex. The political disfavour of the Lord Chamberlain's company in this year is probably reflected in the fact that for the first time in eleven years—except the plague year of 1593—there are no performances by them recorded at the Court during the Christmas season. In the eyes of his rivals Shakespeare's hopes of Court preferment were ruined by the fall of Essex and Southampton. The Queen might live for years, and Cecil was firmly in the saddle. The Lord Chamberlain's company and Shakespeare were now "for daws to peck at." Early in 1601 Jonson, who had joined with Chapman and Marston against Shakespeare and Dekker, revised *The Poetaster*—which he asserted he had previously written against Marston—into a satire against Shakespeare and Dekker. It is evident

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet.* 1903.

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that Chapman, and probable that Marston, collaborated with Jonson in the revision. Chapman's hand is palpable in a number of passages, of which the following "soulful" one is a good example :

O, sacred Poesy, thou spirit of arts,
 The soul of science, and the queen of souls ;
 What profane violence, almost sacrilege,
 Hath here been offered thy divinities !
 That thine own guiltless poverty should arm
 Prodigious ignorance to wound thee thus !
 For thence is all their force of argument
 Drawn forth against ; or, from the abuse
 Of thy great powers in adulterate brains :
 When, would men learn but to distinguish spirits,
 And set true difference 'twixt those jaded wits
 That run a broken pace for common hire,
 And the high raptures of a happy muse,
 Borne on the wings of her immortal thought,
 That kicks at earth with a disdainful heel,
 And beats at heaven's gates with her bright hoofs ;¹
 They would not then, with such distorted faces,
 And desperate censures, stab at Poesy,
 They would admire bright knowledge, and their minds
 Should ne'er descend on so unworthy objects
 As gold, or titles ; they would dread far more
 To be thought ignorant, than be known poor.
 The time was once, when wit drown'd wealth ; but now,
 Your only barbarism is t'have wit, and want.
 No matter now in virtue who excels,
 He that hath coin, hath all perfection else.

A comparison of these lines with Chapman's *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy, The Tears of Peace* and other of his verses will show it to be palpably his work.

Chapman's hand is also recognisable in most of the utterances of Cæsar and Virgil. Some of these passages were afterwards partially rewritten by Jonson, but a large

¹ " Th' inverted world that goes upon her head,
 And with her wanton heels doth kick the sky."

CHAPMAN'S *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*.

number of lines are still plainly Chapman's. His characteristic complaints on virtuous poverty and learning, and vicious ignorance and wealth, are unmistakable. His metrical structure, imagery and verbiage also differ very distinctly from Jonson's.

Whatever character may have been assigned to Marston in the original *Poetaster*, in the present version of the play he is clearly Ovid Junior, while Chapman is Virgil, and Jonson, Horace. Shakespeare is Crispinus; Dekker, Demetrius; Edward Alleyn or Henslowe, Histrio; and Florio, Tucca. While the last-mentioned part is intended more as a parody of Shakespeare's caricature of the same individual as Falstaff than as a direct caricature of Florio, it is evident that at this period Jonson held Florio in light esteem. After the accession of James and the liberation of Southampton, when Florio, through his influence, had become reader to Queen Anna and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King, and consequently a channel—if a small one—to Court favour, Jonson, running true to form, did not disdain his friendship, and continued to be leagued with him and Chapman against Shakespeare—except for short intervals—until his return to Stratford in 1609.

In revising *The Poetaster* in 1601, Jonson did not eliminate the words and phrases peculiar to Marston by which he had originally indicated his style and mannerisms, but instead added to them a number of unusual words used by Shakespeare, who, in the person of Crispinus, is made to disgorge all of them after Horace has administered his purge. All of the distinctively Marstonian words and phrases reproduced by Jonson are taken from plays and satires of Marston's produced before the end of 1599.

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In the present version of *The Poetaster*, Ovid, who is meant for Marston, is represented as the son of a lawyer who is desirous that he should follow the same profession. Ovid Senior is introduced into the play as urging Ovid Junior to abandon poetry and play-making, and to devote himself to the Law. The facts in Marston's case were similar and are undoubtedly reflected here; his father was a lawyer, and for a time was a lecturer in the Middle Temple. In his will he expresses regret that his son, to whom he left his law books and the furniture of his rooms in the Middle Temple, had not been willing to follow his profession. There is no animus against Ovid in the characterisation and action, and his relations with Virgil (Chapman) and Horace (Jonson) are cordial. Tucça, however, is represented as a blatant boaster and busybody, who now sides with one faction and now with the other as best suiting his immediate interests. Though shown as an intimate of Crispinus and Demetrius he joins with Ovid Senior and Lupus in denouncing the players.

LUP. Indeed, Marcus Ovid, these players are an idle generation, and do much harm in a state, corrupt young gentry very much, I know it; I have not been a tribune thus long and observed nothing: besides, they will rob us, us, that are magistrates, of our respect, bring us upon their stages, and make us ridiculous to the plebians; they will play you or me, the wisest men they can come by still, only to bring us in contempt with the vulgar, and make us cheap.

TUC. Thou art in the right, my venerable cropshin, they will indeed; the tongue of the oracle never twang'd truer. Your courtier cannot kiss his mistress's slippers in quiet for them; nor your white innocent pawn his revelling suit to make his punk a supper. An honest decayed commander cannot skelder, cheat, nor be seen in a bawdy-house, but he shall be straight in one of their wormwood comedies. They are grown licentious, the rogues: libertines, flat libertines.

They forget they are in the statute, the rascals ; they are blazon'd there ; there they are trick't, they and their pedigrees ; they need no other heralds, I wiss.

In the lines I have italicised Jonson makes Florio, as Tucça, refer scurrilously to Shakespeare's grant of Arms ; repeating the attack he had made upon him in *Every Man out of his Humour*, which was issued from the press at about the same time that *The Poetaster*, in its revised form, was staged, *i.e.* early in 1601. The note here soundeb yd Tucça, reflecting upon the claims of actors to gentility, is directed specifically against Shakespeare as Crispinus, and reiterated against him with more direct point through the remainder of the play.

Crispinus is described as a parcel-poet, *i.e.* part gentleman and part poet ; he is made to boast of his gentility, to describe his Coat of Arms and its blazoning, and to carry a copy of his patent with him, which he offers to produce upon occasion. He makes the acquaintance of Albinus, a tradesman, who is represented as a jeweller, but dealing largely in ornaments for the hair, which are frequently mentioned in the play. Albinus is completely dominated by his beautiful wife, Chloe, who treats him with contempt, reminding him that he is merely a tradesman while she is a "gentlewoman born." She also tells him that he owes his fortune to her and threatens him with divorce. Court gallants and poets flock to Albinus' house drawn by the fame of his wife's beauty, which Albinus regards as a business asset, boasting of it to his guests whom he importunes her to entertain. When Crispinus meets Albinus and Chloe for the first time, the former asks him to walk in the garden, saying there is a garden "at the backside of the house." Later in the play Crispinus introduces Tucça to Chloe,

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whom he styles his mistress. She is so taken with him that she deserts Crispinus and takes up with Tucca. A phase of the sonnet story is here palpably parodied. Jonson's reason for making Albinus a jeweller instead of a tavernkeeper was to bring the point at Shakespeare up to date. Shakespeare at this date was living at the house of Mountjoy, the hairdresser, who evidently was also a tire maker and dealer in jewellery for the hair. The garden "at the backside of the house" is the walled garden and walk described by Royden in *Willobie his Avis* and appears in the plan of the Crosse Inn and Tavern grounds.

Albinus is plainly intended for Davenant, Chloe for his wife, Crispinus for Shakespeare, and Tucça for Florio.

When Tucca, in the last scene of the play, joins in commission with the prosecution against Crispinus and Demetrius and questions the defendants regarding their authorship of the papers in evidence, he is made to use an expression indicative of Florio.

TIB. Shew this unto Crispinus. Is it yours ?

Tuc. Say, ay. (*Aside.*)—What! dost thou stand upon it, pimp? Do not deny thine own Minerva, thy Pallas, the issue of thy brain.

In the dedication of his *Worlde of Wordes* to the Earl of Southampton, Florio writes of that work: "My riper yeeres affoording me I cannot say a braine-babe, Minerva, armed at all assaies," etc.

Tucca is punished at the end of the play by having his head covered with a Janus vizard :

CÆS. Lictors, gage him ; do.

And put a case of vizards o'er his head,
That he may look bifronted, as he speaks.

Tuc. Gods and fiends! Cæsar! thou wilt not, Cæsar, wilt thou? Away, you whoreson vultures; away. You think

I am a dead corps now, because Cæsar is disposed to jest with a man of mark, or so. Hold your hook'd talons out of my flesh, you inhuman harpies. Go to, do't. What! will the royal Augustus cast away a gentleman of worship, a captain and a commander, for a couple of condemn'd caitiff calumnious cargos?

The same horror of the minions of the law here expressed is shown by Falstaff and is voiced by Florio in his *Second Fruits*.

It is evident that at this period the "great company of good writers" which Florio boasted would "bandie" with him, were not very warm partisans and that their opinion of his personal character in the main differed little from Shakespeare's.

The satire directed against Dekker in *The Poetaster* is merely incidental to the attack on Shakespeare. The former appears only occasionally and is referred to as a dresser, *i.e.* a reviser, of plays, who has been hired by Histrio (Alleyn) to attack Horace (Jonson) by the revision of a play in which Crispinus has had a hand, but of which the latter expresses innocence of any intended offence to Horace. The play indicated is evidently *Troilus and Cressida* revised into *Agamemnon* by Dekker for Alleyn and Henslowe and presented upon their stages. Shakespeare had no reason to satirise Jonson at the time this revision was made in 1599; his original play was directed against Chapman. It is not improbable, however, that Dekker and Chettle, on their own account, took a fling at Jonson in this, or a still later, revision of the play, which the latter imputed to Shakespeare's instigation.

Jonson's attack upon Shakespeare and Dekker in *The Poetaster* was answered late in 1601 by Dekker in *Satiromastix*, and by Shakespeare in his fresh revision of *Troilus*

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and *Cressida* at about the same time. Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, in an earlier revised form than that of the Quarto of 1609, was being presented by the Lord Chamberlain's company in February 1603. It was entered upon the Stationers' Registers at that date by James Roberts "as it is acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants," while *Hamlet*, entered by Roberts a few months earlier, is entered "as it *was lately* acted." From this I learn that Roberts entered *Troilus and Cressida* while it was still being played.

To make his satirical intention unmistakable, Dekker took a number of characters from Jonson's *Poetaster* and incorporated them in *Satiromastix*; here again Horace is Jonson; Dekker, Demetrius; Florio, Tucca; and Shakespeare, Crispinus. There are two very distinct themes in this play, one dealing with the time of William I. of England, and the other a parody of Jonson's *Poetaster*. It seems apparent that Dekker had already produced, or was at work upon, the former play and intended William Rufus for Shakespeare when he decided to incorporate in it a parody of *The Poetaster*: both William Rufus and Crispinus seem to indicate Shakespeare. In the ending of this play William Rufus takes the same part as Cæsar in *The Poetaster* and invites Crispinus (Shakespeare) to the seat of judgment, as Cæsar invites Virgil (Chapman).

Whether or not Dekker collaborated with Shakespeare in the revision of *Troilus and Cressida* at this time is uncertain, but I am inclined to believe that he did, and that the play presented in 1603 was a revision of Dekker's earlier revision of *Troilus and Cressida*, and that James Roberts failed to secure authority for its publication at this time owing to its dual ownership by Henslowe and the Lord

Chamberlain's company. Roberts' entry in 1603 is qualified by the words "when he hath gotten sufficient authority for it"; this he evidently failed to secure as the play was not published at this time, and when it finally was published Shakespeare had to revise it again in order to regain the copyright.

It is probable, then, that both Dekker and Shakespeare were concerned in the play as it was presented by the Lord Chamberlain's company in 1602-3; Roberts' entry of it upon the Stationers' Registers early in 1603 infers that it was near the end of its run at this time. These reasons, coupled with the foregoing evidence regarding the antagonism between Shakespeare and Chapman, confirm the idea advanced by Mr. Fleay regarding *Troilus and Cressida* as the Shakespearean play alluded to in *The Return from Parnassus*—which was presented at Cambridge late in 1602—as Shakespeare's answer to Jonson's satire against him and Dekker in *The Poetaster*. In *The Return from Parnassus*, Kempe, who is one of the dramatic characters, is made to say: "Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down; aye, and Ben Jonson, too. O! that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow. He brought up Horace, giving the poets a pill; but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit."

The camp scenes in *Troilus and Cressida*, with Jonson as Ajax, and Marston or Chapman as Thersites, and more likely the latter, were probably introduced or expanded at this time. It is unlikely that Shakespeare had any hand in the revision made by Dekker and Chettle in 1599 while Essex still lived, but after 1601 he would have no compunction on this account. I shall show that Jonson refers

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resentfully to *Troilus and Cressida* in 1607, which makes it probable that it was revised at intervals by Shakespeare for his company, or by Dekker for Henslowe and Alleyn, in answer to new attacks of the scholars as late as 1607.

I have already shown Marston's reflection of the relations between Shakespeare and Jonson as Brabant Senior and Planet in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. There Shakespeare, while invidiously caricatured, is, withal, represented as a man of means who spends money freely in entertaining his friends. He does not seek, but is sought by Brabant Junior (Marston) and Planet (Jonson). He introduces the latter to his patron, Puffe (Lord Southampton), who offers him his patronage. This is from Marston's point of view. In *The Poetaster* Jonson represents Crispinus (Shakespeare) as pursuing Horace (himself), seeking his company and friendship, and soliciting an introduction to his patron. It is evident that Jonson was now climbing in the social world and that the destruction of the Essex faction had—in his opinion at least—injured Shakespeare's prospects and prestige. Early in 1603 Sir Thomas Overbury writes: "Ben Jonson, the poet, now lives upon one Townesend and scornes the world." It is not improbable that he was living upon Townesend a year and a half earlier when *The Poetaster* was produced and answered by Dekker's *Satiromastix*, and that Townesend is Horace's patron, Asinius Bubo, in the latter play. Jonson certainly displays some of the "scorne" of the world—mentioned by Overbury—in his attitude towards Shakespeare, as reflected in the relations between Horace and Crispinus in 1601. Townesend is generally supposed to have been Aurelian Townshend, a poet and mask-writer, who subsequently was steward to

Cecil. This would indicate that Jonson trimmed his sails to Cecilian breezes soon after the death of Essex. He continued thereafter to court the favour of Cecil, and was employed by him upon numerous occasions. When Jonson, Marston and Chapman were imprisoned in 1604, for strictures upon certain Scottish courtiers, it was to Cecil that Jonson appealed for relief. He wrote several strained and sycophantic epigrams to Cecil which, if they ever came to Shakespeare's cognizance with his deeper knowledge and utter abhorrence of Cecil's essential character, must have sickened his soul.

The social and political atmosphere of London and the Court created by the dominance of Cecil and his creatures, and by the ennobled pimps and curled darlings of the degenerate King, which affected Shakespeare's spirit as a poisonous miasma, reacted upon the less sensitive Jonson merely as a stimulus to his humour.

The gloomy period between the death of Essex and the accession of James was lightened somewhat for Shakespeare and Essex's old followers by the anticipation that Cecil's power would be broken and old wrongs righted upon the coming of the King, whose real character was as yet unknown in England, except by Cecil and his creatures who had been enabled to gauge it through their correspondence and intrigue with him during these years. By Shakespeare and the rank and file of Essex's sympathisers he was regarded as the coming deliverer, and endowed by their hopes with the qualities of an ideal king.

In their correspondence with James, Cecil and Northampton had done all they could to imbue his mind with the idea that Essex's downfall and death were due entirely to the resentment of Elizabeth, fed by Cobham and

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Raleigh. The same idea was disseminated among the populace, by whom Raleigh and Cobham came to be regarded as Essex's principal antagonists. The Earl of Southampton is several times sympathetically mentioned, with Northampton and Cecil posing as his friends and protectors; but as this correspondence was unknown to the contemporary world, James's first act upon entering England—being to issue an order for Southampton's release—was regarded by Essex's followers as presaging their restoration to Court favour, and the consequent decline or elimination of Cecil and his adherents. These hopes were modified but not entirely dissipated when it became known that James had given audience to Cecil and had confirmed him in his offices, but it was supposed by many that he was merely temporising with Cecil until he had the reins of government firmly in his own hands. This atmosphere of doubt lasted for some months after the accession of James. During these months, when the prospects of Southampton and those he favoured were high, we find Jonson again writing for the Lord Chamberlain's company and in *Sejanus*—the play now produced—inferentially flattering Shakespeare's loyalty to the memory of Essex, at a time when such loyalty was dangerous. In fact it appears evident that Jonson invited Shakespeare to collaborate with him in the composition of this play, as Shakespeare's hand is even yet distinctly recognisable in it. In his "Address to the Reader" prefixed to the play upon publication, Jonson writes:

"Lastly I would inform you that this book in all its numbers is not the same with that which was acted upon the public stage wherein *a second pen had a good share*, in place of which I have rather chosen to put

weaker and no doubt less pleasing of mine own than to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed usurpation."

This play, while distinctly expressing sympathy for Essex as Germanicus, puts the onus of his death upon the Queen, which was an idea disseminated by Cecil and Northampton: it is not improbable that its composition and production were encouraged by Cecil's influence tacitly exerted upon Jonson by his creature and future steward, Aurelian Townshend, at whose charge Jonson was living at this time; its point being inferentially directed at Raleigh, Cobham and Northumberland, the "diabolical triplicity"—referred to in the Scotch correspondence—whom Cecil succeeded in convicting of treason in this year for an alleged plot to seize the "King and his cubs," as Sejanus planned to destroy the children of Germanicus. This entire conspiracy was a fabrication of Cecil's designed to remove these three men from his path; his long premeditated purpose to accomplish their destruction is palpably revealed in the correspondence, which antedated the inception of the alleged plot of which they were convicted by nearly two years. In the publication of this play Jonson, in order to protect himself from the charge of political application, appends voluminous notes, showing his sources and authorities in Roman history. The representation of plots and counter plots, the use of spies, informers and perjurers, the heat of factional antagonisms, the invention of alleged conspiracies in which to involve intended victims, followed by their forced trials and judicial murder, palpably reflected the political conditions of Jonson's times. Jonson told Drummond that he was called before the Council on

account of *Sejanus* and accused by Northampton of being a papist and traitor.¹

Shakespeare's sympathy with the cause of Essex, as he exhibited it in the year of Essex's death by the production of *Julius Cæsar*—where the Essex faction is inferentially that of Brutus and Cassius—is clearly reflected in the utterances of Cremutius Cordus and his friends in the first act of *Sejanus*. If the metrical construction, verbiage and feeling of these passages be compared with the remainder of the play, there will be recognised in them a fluent grace of diction, a clarity of thought and a depth and sincerity of sentiment totally lacking in any other passages in the play, or in any other dramatic lines of Jonson's. If they be compared with *Julius Cæsar*, *Hamlet* and some of the plainly Shakespearean portions of *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare's hand becomes palpable.

It is evident that in altering *Sejanus* and changing or eliminating the parts written by the "second pen," whom Jonson mentions as having had "a good share" in the original play, he neglected materially to change these passages, as he also did in the case of a number of passages of Chapman's in *The Poetaster*. Cremutius Cordus was intended for Shakespeare. He is represented as a "Gentleman of Rome," who has written historical annals of Rome, which he has brought down to his own times. In his history he praises and exalts the characters of Brutus and Cassius, for which he is arrested and stands trial, when he defends himself so ably that the prejudiced and partisan court is forced to defer judgment, but holds him for future

¹ An expression which aptly describes Northampton himself. He and his nephew Suffolk, and Suffolk's wife, were for years in the pay of Spain. Northampton died a Catholic.

examination and, in the meantime, orders that his books be burnt.

Though definite proof of the fact has been lacking, it has long been suspected by analytical scholars that Shakespeare's company for some reason was in disfavour with the authorities in 1601. Though the plague was not prevalent in this year they were compelled to travel in the provinces for a prolonged period, and furthermore, no record exists of Court performances by them during the Christmas season ; the first omission in eight years. These provincial travels are alluded to in *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's first revision of which was made in this year. When Rosencrantz, in Act II. Scene ii., announces the coming of the players, Hamlet asks :

What players are they ?

ROS. Even those you were wont to take such delight in, the tragedians of the city.

HAM. How chances it they travel ? their residence, both in reputation and profit, was better both ways.

ROS. I think their inhibition comes by the means of the late innovation.

HAM. Do they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city ? are they so followed ?

ROS. No, indeed, are they not.

HAM. How comes it ? do they grow rusty ?

ROS. Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace : but there is, sir, an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question and are most tyrannically clapped for't : these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages—so they call them—that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither.

HAM. What, are they children ? who maintains 'em ? how are they escoted ? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing ? will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players,—as it is most like, if their means are no better,—their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession ?

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ROS. Faith, there has been much to do on both sides, and the nation holds it no sin to tarre them to controversy : there was for a while no money bid for argument unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.

HAM. Is't possible ?

GUIL. O, there has been much throwing about of brains.

HAM. Do the boys carry it away ?

ROS. Ay, that they do, my lord ; Hercules and his load too.

All of this plainly pertains to the year 1601, when Chapman, Jonson and Marston were using the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel to present their anti-Shakespearean satirical productions. The inhibition of London performances by the Lord Chamberlain's company referred to, was then evidently enforced owing to the presentation of *Julius Cæsar*, with its sympathetic treatment of Brutus and Cassius, which was recognised by the Cecilians, and no doubt greeted by the populace, as reflecting the writer's, and expressing the public sympathy, with the cause of Essex.

While Shakespeare thus openly expressed his critical attitude towards the Cecilians and his sympathy for Essex at this crucial period, Jonson was silent or else—like Marston, as shown in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, published in this year—leaned to the other side. After the accession of James and the liberation of Southampton, he hastened to take sides again with the popular party by seeking Shakespeare's collaboration in writing and producing *Sejanus*, and Shakespeare's company's services in presenting it. While Jonson, according to his own statement, eliminated the work of his unnamed collaborator and replaced it with his own, the following passages bear on their face palpable evidence that in this instance he stayed his revisionary pen ; for, though he may have rewritten

lines here and there in the passages shown, many of the lines are as unmistakably Shakespeare's as are those of his most authentic plays of this period. They plainly refer to Essex and his times, and the concluding passage, to the incidents of his career from the time of his acceptance of the command of the Irish expedition onwards until his death.

SAB. But these our times
Are not the same Arruntius.

ARR. Times! the men,
The men are not the same: 'tis we are base,
Poor, and degenerate from the exalted strain
Of our great fathers. Where is now the soul
Of god-like Cato? he, that durst be good,
When Cæsar durst be evil; and had power,
As not to live his slave, to die his master?
Or, where's the constant Brutus, that being proof
Against all charm of benefits, did strike
So brave a blow into the monster's heart
That sought unkindly to captive his country?
O, they are fled the light! Those mighty spirits
Lie raked up with their ashes in their urns,
And not a spark of their eternal fire
Glow in a present bosom. All's but blaze,
Flashes and smoke, wherewith we labor so,
There's nothing Roman in us; nothing good,
Gallant, or great: 'tis true that Cordus says,
"Brave Cassius was the last of all that race."
(*Drusus passes over the stage, attended by Haterius, &c.*)

SAB. Stand by! lord Drusus.

HAT. The emperor's son! give place.

SIL. I like the prince well.

ARR. A riotous youth;
There's little hope of him.

SAB. That fault his age
Will, as it grows, correct. Methinks he bears
Himself each day more nobly than other;
And wins no less on men's affections,
Than doth his father lose. Believe me, I love him;
And chiefly for opposing to Sejanus.

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- SIL. And I, for gracing his young kinsmen so,
The sons of prince Germanicus : it shows
A gallant clearness in him, a straight mind,
That envies not, in them, their father's name.
- ARR. His name was, while he lived, above all envy ;
And, being dead, without it. O, that man !
If there were seeds of the old virtue left,
They lived in him.
- SIL. He had the fruits, Arruntius,
More than the seeds : Sabinus, and myself
Had means to know him within ; and can report him.
We were his followers, he would call us friends ;
He was a man most like to virtue ; in all,
And every action, nearer to the gods,
Than men, in nature ; of a body as fair
As was his mind ; and no less reverend
In face, than fame : he could so use his state,
Tempering his greatness with his gravity,
As it avoided all self-love in him,
And spite in others. What his funerals lack'd
In images and pomp, they had supplied
With honourable sorrow, soldiers' sadness,
A kind of silent mourning, such, as men,
Who know no tears, but from their captives, use
To shew in so great losses.
- COR. I thought once,
Considering their forms, age, manner of deaths,
The nearness of the places where they fell,
To have parallel'd him with great Alexander :
For both were of best feature, of high race,
Year'd but to thirty, and, in foreign lands,
By their own people alike made away.
- SAB. I know not, for his death, how you might wrest it :
But, for his life, it did as much disdain
Comparison, with that voluptuous, rash,
Giddy, and drunken Macedon's, as mine
Doth with my bondman's. All the good in him,
His valour and his fortune, he made his ;
But he had other touches of late Romans,
That more did speak him : Pompey's dignity,
The innocence of Cato, Cæsar's spirit,
Wise Brutus' temperance ; and every virtue,
Which, parted unto others, gave them name,

Flow'd mix'd in him. He was the soul of goodness ;
 And all our praises of him are like streams
 Drawn from a spring, that still rise full, and leave
 The part remaining greatest.

ARR. I am sure
 He was too great for us, and that they knew
 Who did remove him hence.

SAB. When men grow fast
 Honor'd and loved, there is a trick in state,
 Which jealous princes never fail to use,
 How to decline that growth, with fair pretext,
 And honourable colours of employment,
 Either by embassy, the war, or such,
 To shift them forth into another air,
 Where they may purge and lessen ; so was he :
 And had his second there, sent by Tiberius,
 And his more subtle dam, to discontent him ;
 To breed and cherish mutinies ; detract
 His greatest actions ; give audacious check
 To his commands ; and work to put him out
 In open act of treason. All which snares
 When his wise cares prevented, a fine poison
 Was thought on, to mature their practices.

The dead Germanicus is Essex, and the outline of the methods used to work his ruin tally in spirit and detail with those pursued by Cecil in the case of Essex, though the onus here is, by inference, put upon Elizabeth. The concluding lines :

All which snares
 When his wise cares prevented, a fine poison
 Was thought on, to mature their practices,

refer in all probability to the deadly resentment aroused in the Queen by Essex's alleged aspersions of her person, which Cecil had conveyed to her ears by his creatures in the Court. Before the death of Cecil, and while Raleigh was a prisoner in the Tower and in Cecil's power, he recorded that it was Essex's expression concerning the Queen,

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that "her conditions were as crooked as her carcase," and not the political crime of which he was charged and convicted that sent him to the block. But in 1618, six years after Cecil's death, Dr. Robert Tounson,¹ Dean of Westminster, and later Bishop of Salisbury, reports that on the day of Raleigh's execution he questioned him regarding the causes of Essex's death, and that Raleigh told him that "Essex was fetcht off by a trick which he privately told me of"; the cautious Dean, however, does not reveal the "trick." It was no doubt the same alluded to in the words from *Sejanus* :

. . . a fine poison

Was thought on, to mature their practices,

which, if we link with Raleigh's two statements, was to arouse the tigress in Elizabeth by mortifying her vanity and pride. There would have been no "trick" in this had Essex really used the expression in reference to the person of the Queen; but in view of Cecil's deformity, and the numerous negotiations he had with Essex, it is not unlikely that in a moment of irritation he used the expression at some time in regard to Cecil himself, and that the latter designedly passed it on as a reference to the person of the Queen.

Within a year of the production of *Sejanus*, Jonson with others found that Cecil still preserved and had even enhanced his power, and also that another "fine poison was thought on," but now to destroy Southampton's influence with James. In 1604 Southampton was suddenly arrested and sent to the Tower on the charge of being unduly inti-

¹ In my Davenant search I learned also that Dr. Tounson was married to Margaret Davenant, another daughter of John Davenant, senior. Tounson was succeeded by his brother-in-law, John Davenant, as Bishop of Salisbury.

mate with the new Queen. The records of this affair are very nebulous. The suspicion could not be substantiated, and he was shortly afterwards released; but the incident was sufficiently disagreeable to the King and the Earl to preclude the growth of great confidence between them in the future. When it is remembered, however, that Cecil and Northampton had deliberately tried to poison the mind of James against his Queen in the correspondence preceding his accession it is likely the present scandal regarding her relations with Southampton owed its origin to the same subtle minds.

From this time onwards, Jonson was an avowed Cecilian, and whatever satirical shafts he directed against the Court and courtiers were aimed at an element of the Scottish courtiers opposed to Cecil; and when he, Marston and Chapman, in 1604, were imprisoned for such strictures it was to Cecil that he appealed—and successfully—for his release.

Between 1604 and 1609—in which latter year I am convinced Shakespeare retired to Stratford—though there may have been intervals of apparent friendliness between Shakespeare and Jonson, it is evident that the intimacy of the latter with Chapman brought him into opposition to Shakespeare. From the nature of an attack which I shall show that Jonson makes upon Shakespeare in the dedication of *Volpone* in 1607, we may judge that *Troilus and Cressida* was presented at intervals as late as this year, and probably as late as 1609, when it was published with the same personal point and purpose—*i.e.* against Chapman and his allies—with which it had been played since 1602.

I am inclined to believe that Dekker continued to be

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allied with Shakespeare during the whole of this period, and that the preface to the second issue of the Quarto of *Troilus and Cressida*, in 1609, was from his pen. Logical inference as well as a comparison of this preface with Dekker's authentic prose work strongly suggest his authorship.

Jonson was collaborating with Marston and Chapman in anti-Shakespearean plays within a year of the production of *Sejanus*. In 1604 he, Chapman and Marston were arrested and imprisoned for certain anti-Scottish reflections in *Eastward Hoe*. There is palpable parody of *Hamlet* in this play; the lines in which such parody is noticeable are, however, from Marston's pen.

Volpone was presented for the first time at the Globe Theatre in 1605, by the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was published in 1607 and dedicated "To the most noble and most equal sisters, the two universities." Though the verbiage of this dedication is probably Jonson's, the ideas expressed are clearly Chapman's and are a repetition of the same ideas used by Chapman in several of his poems against Shakespeare. Seeing that *Troilus and Cressida* is censoriously alluded to in this dedication, it is likely that Chapman collaborated with Jonson in the writing of it.

There is no ground for the assumption, by Mr. Jacob Feis, that Florio's *Essays of Montaigne* are alluded to, and the personal character of Montaigne defended by Jonson in the following passages, and evident that he refers to the satirical treatment of the Homeric story and its characters in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, or else the form in which this play was presented upon Henslowe's stage:

"It is certain, nor can it with any forehead be opposed, that the too much license of poetasters in this time, have much deformed their mistress ; that, every day, their manifold and manifest ignorance doth stick unnatural reproaches upon her : but for their petulancy, it were an act of the greatest injustice, either to let the learned suffer, or so divine a skill (which indeed should not be attempted with unclean hands) to fall under the least contempt. For, if men will impartially, and not asquint, look toward the offices and function of a poet, they will easily conclude to themselves the impossibility of any man's being the good poet, without first being a good man. He that is said to be able to inform young men to all good disciplines, inflame grown men to all good virtues, keep old men in their best and supreme state, or, as they decline to childhood, recover them to their first strength ; that comes forth the interpreter and arbiter of nature, a teacher of things divine no less than human, a master in manners ; and can alone, or with a few, effect the business of mankind : this, I take him, is no subject for pride and ignorance to exercise their railing rhetoric upon. . . . The increase of which lust in liberty, together with the present trade of the stage, in all their miscelline interludes, what learned or liberal soul doth not already abhor ? where nothing but the filth of the time is uttered, and with such impropriety of phrase, such plenty of solecisms, such dearth of sense, so bold prolepses, so racked metaphors, with brothelry, able to violate the ear of a pagan, and blasphemy, to turn the blood of a christian to water. I cannot but be serious in a cause of this nature, wherein my fame, and the reputation of divers honest and learned are in question ; when a name so full of authority, antiquity, and all great mark, is, through their insolence, become the lowest scorn of the age ; and those men subject to the petulancy of every vernaculous orator, that were wont to be the care of kings and happiest monarchs."

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The name and person here indicated is undoubtedly Homer, whom Chapman, in *The Tears of Peace*, rather incongruously invests with a Christian religiosity. It is not likely that this whole dedication would have been devoted to a defence of Homer except in collaboration with Chapman, and unless *Troilus and Cressida* was still a drawing card at the theatres. One of Chapman's favourite slurs on Shakespeare is that one cannot be a good poet who is not a good man ; and as Shakespeare, in his opinion, was not a good man, he could not be a good poet. The idea voiced in the following words from Jonson's dedication is pure Chapmanese : " For, if men will impartially, and not asquint, look toward the offices and function of a poet, they will easily conclude to themselves the impossibility of any man's being the good poet, without first being a good man." Jonson left to himself does not write in this strain. This didactic morality runs through most of Chapman's poems and is very noticeable in some of the passages I have assigned to him in *The Poetaster*. Chapman never could quite forgo the manner of the dominie.

It has been argued that Shakespeare is caricatured in the character of Androgyno in *Volpone*, but the reasons advanced are unconvincing considering that it was presented in 1605 by Shakespeare's company. It is evident, however, that Jonson and Chapman were affiliated and still critical of Shakespeare in 1607, when *Volpone* was published ; satire against Shakespeare may have been introduced at this time. It is evident also that they and Florio were combined against him when Florio brought about the publication of the Sonnets in 1609 ; all three of them using the services of Thorpe as their publisher at this

time. In this year Chapman published his *Tears of Peace*,¹ in which, as I have already shown, he alludes scurrilously to Shakespeare and to the sources of his plays.

Though it is impossible to place a definite date for the composition of Jonson's epigram "On Poet-ape," as this is an epithet used elsewhere by his scholastic critics against Shakespeare, and as the epigram addresses poet-ape as one "that would be thought our chief," and refers to his "wealth and credit in the scene," and the fact that he rewrote old plays, it is palpable that it referred to Shakespeare; no other contemporary poet fits all the intended points.

ON POET-APE

Poor Poet-ape, that would be thought our chief,
 Whose works are e'en the frippery of wit,
 From brokage is become so bold a thief,
 As we, the robb'd, leave rage, and pity it.
 At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
 Buy the reversion of old plays; now grown
 To a little wealth, and credit in the scene,
 He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own:
 And, told of this, he slights it. Tut, such crimes
 The sluggish gaping auditor devours;
 He marks not whose 'twas first: and aftertimes
 May judge it to be his, as well as ours.
 Fool! as if half eyes will not know a fleece
 From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece?

When Shakespeare published *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609 it is, then, plain that he did so as a counter attack upon his enemies who had assailed him in so many ways in this year; the publication of the *Sonnets* not being by any means the least vicious. In a future publication I shall show that Shakespeare, tired of the unworthy strife and disgusted with the social and political corruption of London

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet.* 1903.

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and the Court, retired to Stratford in this year. In view of this and of the fact that Jonson's friendly references to him in the verses prefixed to the First Folio and in his *Discoveries* were not made until from fourteen to twenty years later, and after Shakespeare's death, when Jonson had quarrelled with Chapman, we may give little credence to the tradition that Jonson and Drayton visited Shakespeare in Stratford in 1616 and indulged with him in a drinking bout which brought on a fever that resulted in his death.

When Jonson wrote the well-known verses prefixed to the Folio in 1623, he not only gave expression to his own matured judgment, but also reflected the veneration and regard of his most cultured contemporaries. In his *Discoveries*, written several years after the verses in the First Folio, he writes: "For I loved the man and do honour his memory *on this side idolatry as much as any*"; the words I have italicised give evidence that at this period a pronounced Shakespeare cult had already formed, and that in Jonson's opinion the regard of some of the votaries was even idolatrous. The tide of Shakespeare's fame had now risen too high for Jonson to stem it, so with his usual worldly wisdom he flowed with it instead.

I believe that Shakespeare genuinely liked Jonson and would willingly have been friends with him, and that he was attracted to him rather by the difference in their characters than by affinity. With all of Jonson's faults Shakespeare recognised in him a stronger character and a more essential honesty than in any of his other detractors. The secret of Jonson's influence over his generation seems to have lain largely in his superabundant physical vitality. His virile personality imposed itself strongly upon Shake-

spere's sensitive, suggestible and, by comparison, feminine delicacy of nature. Shakespeare tolerated Jonson's jealousy because he comprehended him ; it was impossible for one of Jonson's obtuse sensibilities and dominating egotism even to apprehend the real Shakespeare until his pre-eminence had, in his own phrase, become "all men's suffrage."

As Shakespeare's unsympathetic representations of curates was due largely to the antagonism of Roydon, so his bias against puritans was accentuated by his dislike of Chapman, who—whatever may be his literary merits—was an unlovable character. Shakespeare scarcely notices Marston or his attacks, and probably regarded him with the contempt he deserved. It is likely that Marston's reflection of Shakespeare's attitude towards him in Brabant Senior's opinion of Mellidus :

A slight bubbling Spirit, a Corke, a Huske—

is not far from the truth.

The long-enduring friendship and co-operation between Dekker and Shakespeare, indicated from 1598 onwards to 1609, appear to have been the result of a certain spiritual affinity between them. Dekker's admiration for his great ally, both as a man and a poet, is very apparent in the ardent manner in which he champions him against his leagued detractors. In the naturalness of his characterisation in certain of his plays he approaches nearer to Shakespeare than do any of his contemporaries, and lines of his lyrics also at times strike an almost Shakespearean note.

Canst drink the waters of the crisped spring
O sweet content

has the true Elizabethan touch and approaches very near to Shakespeare's level.

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In Thomas Dekker, Shakespeare found the most sympathetic spirit of all his later dramatic contemporaries. The reason for this is not far to seek when the humorous kindliness and genuine sentiment revealed in Dekker's plays are compared with the total lack of these life-giving qualities in the plays of Jonson, Chapman and Marston. However adept a playwright may become by practice in the construction of a drama, and however creative his imagination may be, he cannot breathe the spirit of life into the thought, speech and action of his characters and endow them with humour, kindliness and real sentiment except in terms of his own digested experience with life itself ; and this wisdom of experience will be proportionate to his own spiritual and mental receptivity, the depth and fineness of his sympathy, and the soundness of his judgment.

APPENDIX

I. THE CROSSE INN AND THE TAVERN OF OXFORD.

By E. THURLOW LEEDS, F.S.A.

II. THE DAVENANTS OF LONDON AND OXFORD.

1. Extracts from the Will of RAUFE DAVENANT. 1552.
2. Extracts from the Will of JOHN DAVENANT, Senior. 1596.

III. WILLIAM BIRD, MAYOR OF BRISTOL, AND HIS FAMILY.

1. Will of WILLIAM BIRDE, Mayor of Bristol. 1583-90.
2. Will of EDWARD BYRDE, elder son of the Mayor. 1596.
3. Will of WILLIAM BYRDE, younger son of the Mayor. 1597.
4. Will of MILES JACKSON, son-in-law of the Mayor. 1616.
5. Will of ANNE BIRDE, widow of the Mayor. 1616-7.

IV. JOHN DAVENANT OF OXFORD, AND THE HOUGHS.

1. Will of JOHN DAVENANT of Oxford. 1622.
2. Will of WILLIAM HOUGH of Oxford. 1593.
3. Will of WILLIAM HOUGH, Junior, of Oxford. 1606.
4. Will of PEARCE UNDERHILL of Oxford. 1604.

I

THE CROSSE INN AND THE TAVERN AT OXFORD

By E. THURLOW LEEDS, F.S.A.

THE following account of the Tavern is part of a fuller account compiled from materials collected over a long period before the war. The research into the history of this and other Oxford taverns began in a desire to obtain evidence for the purpose of proving a gradual evolution in the form of the early glass wine-bottles, from evidence afforded by a large series of bottles found in Oxford. The results of this investigation were published in *The Antiquary*, 1914. The research expanded subsequently into an attempt to trace the involved history of the dispute between the University and City in reference to the issue of wine-licences, and a few additional details about the Crown Tavern were obtained in connection with a note written for the *Catalogue of the Shakespeare Exhibition in the Bodleian Library*, 1916. At that date the whole of the materials relating to the Crown Tavern was written up in MS. form and as such was shown to Mr. Acheson, when we became acquainted in 1920. Except for the omission of passages not germane to Mr. Acheson's work and for some minor alterations, this Appendix stands in the form of the original MS.

E. T. L.

OXFORD, 1922.

THE SITE AND BUILDINGS

THE superficial site of the Tavern itself is to-day, so far as the evidence goes, exactly the same as it was in the middle of the sixteenth century (the date which the present history takes for its starting-point), if we except the possibility of some insignificant encroachments, or "langables" as they are termed in the legal parlance of the time, which seem to have been added in the seventeenth century.

Apart from detailed measurements, the boundaries of the Tavern are quite certain. Perhaps the fullest account is that contained in a survey taken by Thomas Man, Sub-Warden, and Thomas Miller, one of the fellows of New College, on 21st July 1628.¹ It reads as follows :

<i>The Taverne, the Crosse inn and another tenement Lying together in St Martines Civitatis Oxon</i>	{	A boundarie of three tenements . . . which said three tenements belong to the Warden and scholars of St Mary Coll: of Wynton comonly called New Colledge in Oxon.
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After giving details of the Cross Inn and the "other tenement," it goes on to describe the Tavern :

" 3. *The Taverne*

" The west end abutteth on the high Street where the
" Corne markett is kept.

" The east end abutteth partly on Christ Church land (2)
" partly on the Crosse Inne stable.

" The north side thereof is bounded ptly by the tene-
" ment in y^e tenure of Rich. Astell, (2) ptly by y^e Crosse
" Inne.

" The South side of the Taverne is bounded by divers'
" men's land, vizt, from the west end eastward by Mr.
" Abraham Arsdale's ² land, by Mr. William Marten's land,
" by Christ Church land in the tenure of William Wood-

¹ New College, *Registrum Evidentiarium*, i. 93-94.

² The name should be Archdale.

"ward and by a tenement in the tenure of Samuell
"Corkram."

The three tenements named in the New College survey are what are now the Golden Cross Hotel, No. 4 Cornmarket Street (the City Restaurant), and No. 3 Cornmarket Street, and from the earliest entries in the New College lease-books of the sixteenth century down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century the three tenements always remain quite clearly distinguishable. The Tavern site still belongs to the College, though the Cross Inn and the second tenement were sold in 1825.

With regard to the northern boundary in the above survey the tenement occupied by Richard Astell is No. 4 Cornmarket Street. The part of the Cross Inn which bounded the Tavern on this side may have been at any rate partly unoccupied by buildings in the early seventeenth century, since in a lease of the Tavern given on 8th July 1613¹ among the duties of maintenance imposed on the lessee is mentioned "namelie and especiallye the South side" or part of the Wall situate standing and being betweene "the Court or yard of the Crosse Inne and the court or yard" of the said demised Tenement."

A plan among the New College Muniments, entitled "taken by Mr. Man, S. Warden, July 21st, 1628," shows the length of the tavern-site is given as "six Perches 11 foot & 3 inches," i.e. 110½ feet, while the extreme length at the present day is 120 feet. Subsequent accretions will probably account for the small difference. Only very scanty information is forthcoming about the buildings on the site, and that mainly from the end of the seventeenth century and later.

Firstly, Loggan's bird's-eye map of Oxford (1674-5)² suggests that, from west to east, the site was occupied by the following buildings. Facing the street was a two-storied

¹ New College, *Registr. Dim. ad Firm.*, 7, f. 404.

² Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, Pl. II.

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building with twin gables parallel to the street ; behind this and at right angles to it there lay along the southern side of the tenement, firstly a small low structure followed by a large three-storied edifice with another lower building beyond. Between this row of buildings and the wall of the Cross Inn was a narrow courtyard.

A second plan of the property, dated 1779,¹ shows the front half of the site occupied by the shop with a " wash-house " in an excrescence on the south side. In the back half there is the courtyard on the north side with a small building called " Parlour " at the eastern end. Corresponding to this on the southern face is another small building called " pantry," a passage to a garden behind separating the two. To the west of the " pantry " is a large building called " kitchen," and between this and the shop is a stairway of three flights evidently giving access to the upper floor above the kitchen.

If it were not that the oldest parts of the present building above ground appear to be no earlier than of late eighteenth-century date, this plan might serve to illustrate a passage in the will of John Davenant, who was host of the Tavern from c. 1604 (and possibly for some years previously) to 1622.² It is, however, possible that the new buildings were constructed on the older foundations, and certainly the rooms mentioned in the will seem to answer somewhat to those on the plan of 1779. Davenant, while leaving the business and tavern to his daughters or such one as might marry his apprentice, reserves certain parts of the house for his eldest son in the following words : " provided always " that my meaning is that neither the gallery nor chambers " or that floore nor cockelofts over, nor kitchen, nor lorthier " nor sellar be any part demised but those to remain to " the use of my son Robert . . . , yet both to have passage " into the wood-yard, garden or house of office."

¹ New College Muniments.

² The will is given in full on page 658 in this Appendix.

"That floore," *i.e.* the same floor as the gallery, together with the "cocklofts over" and the kitchen, seem to supply the three-storied building in Loggan's view, while the "lorther" suggests the low building at the eastern end in the position of the "pantry" of 1779. What the "chambers" are is uncertain, unless they formed Loggan's little building between the large edifice and the front part of the tavern, and against which the gallery must have been set.

THE GARDEN

The leases of the Tavern subsequent to 1638 include, in addition to the tenement itself, a garden plot, and the evidence goes to prove that this garden must have been an adjunct to the tenement for practically the entire period during which the tenement was used as a tavern. The garden lay in All Saints' parish and behind what is now No. 7 High Street. Numerous plans and descriptions have come down to us, but they are so discrepant and contradictory as to make it impossible to plot out exactly the actual position of the garden on a modern survey map. The garden was joined to the Tavern by a passage, and since similar discrepancies and contradictions in regard to measurements and position occur here also, the problem of the position of the garden is in no way simplified.

The first notice of the garden occurs in a bundle of papers among the New College Muniments referred to in the *Registrum Evidentiarium*, ii. 7, under the heading "Parochia Omnium Sanctorum. A piece of Garden ground." The bundle contains 9 charters, the contents of which are as follows:

1. An assignment by Richard Lamb to Johanne Staunton of a piece of "voyde" ground demised to Wm. Friers by the Abbot of Osney for 79 years from 26th Aug. H. 8^{vi} 30 [*i.e.* 1539], dated 20th July, 43 Eliz., *i.e.* 1601.

The charter itself is headed "Oxford a Garden Ground,"

but clearly refers to the piece of ground used for the passage leading from the tavern to the garden. It is described as "a peece of voyde ground in the p̄ish of All Saints." At some date in the latter part of the sixteenth century, so the charter records, it "passed lawfully to Richard Lamb of Oxford taylor," and by him was assigned for £5 to "Johane Staunton of the city of London widowe" for the remainder of the term of years of the original lease. The plot is described as "by estimacon in length sixe yards, in breadth "fflower yards be yt more or lesse, w^{ch} nowe ys in the "occupacon of the sayd Johane Staunton or of her assignes "and w^{ch} ys mounded Northward wth the Crosse Inn "Stable walle, Eastward on the garden of the sayd Johane, "Westwards on the Tenem' now in the occupacon of the "sayd Johane or her assignes comonly called Tattleton's "house, and Southward on the Tenem' of Leonard ffray "and John Whittington, the w^{ch} East West and South "mounds belongeth to the sayd Johne Staunton and was "formerly made by her the sayd Johane."

2. A feoffment of the whole of a garden in the parish of All Saints by Richard Lambe to Johanne Staunton, widow, 20th July 1601. The bounds of the garden are given as, east, the tenement of "Roger flie"; west, the stable of the Cross Inn; north, the garden of the Cross Inn; and south, the yard of Richard Lambe.

3. A power of attorney to William Watson of Oxford to take seisin of the garden, 22nd July 1601.

4. A deed of bargain and sale of the garden by Richard Lambe to Joane Staunton for £20. The bounds given are the same as in Charter 2, except that on the south, which is described as "the kitchin or Backside of the sayd Richard Lambe and the tenement of one Ralfe Clarke." The property is sold "together wth all Edifices and buildings thereon "w^{ch} garden ground conteyneth in estimacon in lengthe "sixteen yardes or thereabouts and in Breadthe eight

"yards and a halfe or thereabouts, the Mounds whereof
"North East and South ys pcell [parcel] of and belonginge
"to the sayd garden ground."

A reservation is made of a right to build at any time
"on the Stone wall whereof one part lyeth neare to the
said kitchin and Backside," but with no lights facing the
garden. On the outside of the charter is a subsequent
agreement by which the right is conceded to Richard Lamb
and his heirs to make "some smalle light" in the wall of
any building they erect.

5. A deed of gift of the garden by "Johann ffludde,"
widow, in the parish of "St. [Sepulchre] Wulthers in the
Cittie of London," "to my naturall and dutifull sonne,"
Daniel Hough, B.D., of Lincoln College, Oxford, dated 20th
November 1622.

6. A conveyance of the garden by Daniel Hough to the
Warden and Scholars of New College, 27th September 1638.
Daniel Hough, who is described as "filius et haeres of
Joanne Hough, *als* Staunton, *als* ffludd defuncte," in con-
sideration of 5s. surrenders the garden. The occupier of
the tenement to the east is given as Suzanne Townsend,
widow, and the western boundary is described as ground
belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, now
occupied as a passage to the garden by Jane Hallam, widow.

7. A power of attorney to take seisin on behalf of the
College, 29th September 1638, with a memorandum of seisin
taken on 28th October in the same year.

8. A plan of the passage, garden and adjoining pro-
perty, with descriptions and names of occupants, etc., as in
Charter 6.

9. This charter consists of a *précis* of the foregoing
charters, made by Woodward, Warden of New College.

In view of the fact that Daniel Hough sold the property
to New College in 1638, it is surprising to find in the College
lease-books¹ that on 1st August 1627 the College leased

¹ New College, *Registr. Dim. ad Firm.*, 7, f. 519.

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to Daniel Hough their tenement in St. Martin's parish described by its boundaries, the lease being headed "Tattle-ton's house," together with a garden which is described: "also one small garden plot or ground lying and being in "the said pish betweene the Crosse Inne Stables on the "west side and the stone wall of the Messuage or dwelling "house, curtilage or backside of Timothie Carter, gent., on "the east side, The South head or end thereof abutting "uppon the curtilage or backside of Marie Chillingworth "als Lambe widow, The North head or end thereof abutting "upon part of the Stable yard of the Crosse Inne aforesaid."

There are two errors in this description. Firstly, the garden is said to be in "the said parish," which refers to Saint Martin's. It is clearly a slip, however, since subsequent leases always place it correctly in All Saints parish. The second mistake is more serious. It consists in making Timothy Carter the occupier of the tenement to the east. In reality there was an intervening tenement, now No. 9 High Street.

The plan described under Charter 8 is the only one which gives a series of consecutive measurements from Cornmarket Street along the length of the Tavern, passage and garden. The total of these measurements amounts to 163 feet 10 inches, which in the modern survey map falls short of the boundary of No. 9 High Street by some two yards. The deficit must possibly be ascribed to inaccurate surveying. In this connection it may be noted that the boundary wall of No. 9 High Street, and also that part of the northern boundary wall of No. 8 High Street which corresponds in length to the deficit mentioned above, are manifestly very old walls, and must certainly have been standing at the time when the garden formed part of the Tavern premises.

The passage to the garden, as appears from all the plans, adjoined Christ Church land to the south, and from its position must have abutted on a tenement described as the "4th Messuage All Saints" in the *Christ Church Book of*

*Evidences.*¹ This messuage, which now forms the western half of No. 7 High Street, is described as a tenement and garden ground bounded by a stone wall of the Cross Inn on the north. The description continues: "and also there is let
" with the s^d Tenem^t one piece of Void ground between the
" wall of the Cross Inne stable north and a wall formerly
" built by John Daven^t south conteining from N^o to S^o
" 16 foot and from E to W 16 foot."

It is quite evident that the piece of void ground bounded on the north by the Cross Stable is identifiable, in part at least, with the passage from the Tavern to the garden. It is true that the measurements do not agree; in the Christ Church leases it is given as 16 feet each way, whereas in New College Charter 1 the dimensions are given as 6 yards by 4 yards approximately. In the plan (Charter 8) the dimensions are $9\frac{1}{2}$ yards by 5 yards, and in the plan of the 1628 Survey the length is "one perch & 9 feet & 7 inches," or 26 feet 1 inch.

Several facts, however, serve to corroborate this identification. Firstly, the Cross Inn stable as the northern boundary; secondly, the building by John Davenant of a wall on the southern side, clearly with the intention of delimiting as a passage the ground acquired by Joan Staunton from Richard Lamb. Lastly, in a lease of the Christ Church tenement, dated 14th July 1699, the plot of ground in question is described as "one little piece of
" voyd ground lying between the wall of the Crosse Inne
" Stables on the North side and the said stone wall hereto-
" fore built by one John Davenant on the South side which
" s^d voyd ground is p^{tly} built upon, now in the possession
" of Mrs. Morrell."² In anticipation it may be said that both John Davenant and Mrs. Morrell were at different dates the occupiers of the Tavern.

¹ P. 208. This book of evidences was compiled by John Willis, Registrar of Christ Church from 1655.

² Christ Church, Ledger 9, f. 23.

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There remains one piece of evidence in regard to the position of the garden which, although not very reliable, yet deserves not to be passed by unnoticed. This is Loggan's bird's-eye view of Oxford. In it there appears to the east of the Tavern a small rectangular garden such as appears also on the plans, but in Loggan's view there seems to be a small square projection at the southern end of the eastern side of the garden. The garden is adjoined on the north by another garden, the garden of the Cross Inn according to Charter 2 in the New College Muniments. In Loggan's view a narrow strip of ground runs from the south-east corner of the Cross Inn garden along the east side of the Tavern garden as far as the excrescence noticed above.

There are, it seems, two possible explanations of this excrescence. Firstly, it may be correct, and constitute the only part of the garden that actually abutted on the wall of No. 9 High Street, in spite of the fact that on the various plans the garden always appears as a perfect rectangle. There are two reasons for this assumption. It allows for the deficit in the measurements given on the survey plan of 1628 as compared with those on the modern survey map, thus making the garden reach No. 9 High Street, and it explains the description in the survey¹ to which the plan is the key, namely, that the garden was bounded on the east side "partly by the Crosse Inne and partly Mr. Stephen Townesend's tenement."

The second explanation can only be that Loggan is guilty of a slight error in placing the passage on the wrong side of the garden, since otherwise he omits the passage entirely.

THE NAME OF THE TAVERN

The Tavern when referred to at the present day in connection with Shakespeare's visits to Oxford is universally

¹ *Supra*, p. 582.

called the Crown, that being the name by which it was known at the close of its history as a tavern. It is, however, quite another question whether there is any justification for this practice. The balance of probability is to negative the idea that the house was known as the Crown in the early days of the seventeenth century. The transcripts of the leases in the New College ledgers are the main guide to the nomenclature.

In the sixteenth century the house has no name, but is described as a tenement in "St. Martin's Parish facing the public market." One of the lessees shortly after the middle of the century was a certain John Tattleton. His connection with the house did not cease with his death in February 1581,¹ since his name stuck to it for some considerable time afterwards. In the conveyance of the piece of void ground between the house and the garden to Joan Staunton in 1601, it is said to abut westwards on "the Tenem^t now in the occupacon of the sayd Johane . . . comonly called Tattleton's house"; and in 1613 and 1627 the transcripts of the leases are headed "Tattleton's house."

In the survey of 1628 the three New College tenements in Cornmarket Street are headed: "The Taverne, the Crosse inn and another tenement Lying togeather in St. Martines Civitatis Oxon," and lower down the fuller description reads: "The third tenement is knowne by the name of the Taverne." "The Taverne" is also the name which occurs on the plan in Charter 8. It is hardly likely in view of the inn being specifically named the Cross Inn that had the Tavern had such a name as the Crown it should have been omitted.

The lease of 1638 makes no mention of any special title whatsoever; but in 1658 the house is described as a tenement in St. Martin's parish "commonly called or knowne by y^e name of y^e Salutacon Taverne." Fortunately we

¹ A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 230.

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know exactly where this name originated, for a memorandum in the City Ledger Books records that on 8th April 1647-8, in the mayoralty of John Nixon, "Thomas Woods of the "pish of St. Martins had a license granted unto him by "the aforesaid Mayor to hang out and sett up the signe of "the Salutation att his dwellinghouse or Taverne in St. "Martins pish aforesaid."¹

Wood removed in 1651 to another tavern in St. Mary's parish which is referred to by Anthony Wood in 1658 as "the taverne call'd The Salutation in St. Maries parish, Oxon, owned by Thomas Wood."² The confusion incident on the existence of two taverns of the same name at the same time would naturally necessitate a change in one case, and, since Wood first used the name, he evidently considered he had prior right to it, and carried it off with him to his new abode. Thus it devolved upon the Cornmarket Tavern to find itself a new sign. How soon did this happen?

In the next lease of 1663 the New College Ledgers still describe it as "now comonly called or knowne by y^e name of y^e Salutacon." It is not until the renewal of the lease in 1675 that it is described as "y^e Salutacon Tavern, now commonly called or knowne by y^e name of y^e Crowne Tavern," and at last in 1687, "y^e Crowne Taverne late y^e Salutation Taverne." The subsequent leases return to the description of 1675, though usually headed "the Crown Tavern."

There is evidence to show that Jane Hallom, Davenant's daughter, did not give up the Tavern until about 1666, at which date she was succeeded by William Morrell and his wife Anne. This Anne, as Anne Turton, had set up a tavern during the Civil War, for which act she came into conflict with the University. She was by trade an ironmonger,³

¹ City Ledger Book (1637-56), $\frac{D}{6} 5$, f. 555.

² A. Clark, *Wood's Life and Times*, i. 242.

³ Williamson, *Bayne's Trade Tokens*, ii. 934, No. 178.

and her second husband is also so entitled in the early sixties, but it is clear that they also conducted a tavern. In the City Accounts for the year 1660 the following entries occur :

Item paid to Mr. William Morrell for severall gallons
of Sack and Clarett on the day his Magesty was
proclamed 11-06-06
Item paid to Mrs. Hallom for Sack and Clarett used
on the day his Magesty was proclamed 10-13-00¹

This shows that the Morrells were engaged in 1660 in the trade of retailing wine. The first actual mention of the title of the Crown attached to a tavern is by Anthony Wood, who in his diary for 7th June 1658 records that he "spent att the Crowne tavern with Mr. Cresset & Mr. Sherwill 4d." ² This must refer to the tavern conducted by Anne Turton (she married Morrell in 1659), for two reasons: firstly, the absence of the name Crown in connection with the Tavern at the New College tenement before 1675; and secondly, the issue of a token by William Morrell, vintner, having a Crown as a device.³ This token bears internal evidence of a date rather before than after 1660. Thus it was not until about 1666 when the Morrells took over the business from Jane Hallom that the Tavern at No. 3 Cornmarket received the name it continued to hold until it fell into disuse in the late eighteenth century.

The question remains, Had the house possessed a name at any date prior to 1648? or, Was the bestowal of a name at that date merely due to a desire on Wood's part to make the house more conspicuous by setting up a sign-board in front? For the theory of an earlier name there exists what at first sight appears to be a piece of evidence. The survey of 1628 of the New College tenements in St. Martin's is accompanied by a plan of the ground in which the Tavern is marked Crown Tavern. This would suggest that the

¹ Audit Book, 1592-1682, f. 308v.

² A. Clark, *Wood's Life and Times*, i. 254.

³ Williamson, *op. cit.*, ii. 932, No. 156.

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Tavern had been named the Crown, and that its name was suppressed during the early years of the Commonwealth to be revived once more when Wood went to St. Mary's parish. Unfortunately for this attractive theory the plan also contains the name King's Head Tavern as one of the boundaries, and this tavern did not come into existence until 1687, proving the plan to be merely based on the 1628 survey and not to be contemporaneous.

If further proof be needed, recourse may be had to Thomas Hearne, who, writing in 1710, records :

" Five Taverns in Oxford in 1636. They were kept by " Francis Harris, William Turner, Thomas Hallam, W^m. " Grice and Humphrey Budwit (or Bodicote) ; the signes " were the Mermayd, the Swan, the other three were only " Bushes." ¹

Of the above, Francis Harris occupied the Mermaid and Humphrey Bodicot the Swan, if indeed Hearne is correct in giving this name at all to any tavern, so that Thomas Hallom, who was at that time host of what was later the Crown Tavern, evidently only distinguished his house by the usual sign of a vintner's bush.

We must conclude, therefore, that the Salutation was the first specific sign that hung above the tavern door, and that not until about 1666 did it receive the better-known name of the Crown.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TAVERN

The question as to the exact date at which the Tavern came into being is by no means easy to answer. That there were taverns in plenty in Oxford in the Middle Ages is well known, but there is no evidence to show that a tavern existed on the site of the future Crown during that period. Its rise is to be sought subsequent to the passing of the Licensing Statute (7 Edward VI.), 1553, and is involved in the history

¹ Doble, *Hearne's Collections*, iii. 85.

of a large number of persons several of whom had little or no connection with the Tavern itself, but were yet in a measure instrumental in bringing it into being. The reason for this lies in the personal nature of the licences in the sixteenth century. Nothing comes out more clearly from the early lists of licence-holders in Oxford than the absolute dissociation of the retail of wine from any set house, except in one instance. It was only by a gradual process lasting some fifty years that the attachment of the licences to particular houses became usual, and even in the early seventeenth century there still existed in Oxford at least some of these purely personal licences, though by that time the identification in theory of a licence with a particular house was making strong headway.

Nowhere does this process of identification present itself in a clearer light than in the case of the Crown, and the stages by which it took place are interesting, since they mark a definite attempt to establish a tavern in the part of Cornmarket Street where the Crown stood, and, as will appear from the following account, it is little more than mere chance that it was the Crown Tavern and not the Cross Inn which had the honour of sheltering Shakespeare on his journeys from Stratford to London or *vice versa*. This unconscious struggle, as it were, for the future fame of having harboured England's greatest poet is curiously enough confined to three tenements in St. Martin's parish, all belonging to New College. The period of the struggle lasts from the passing of the Licensing Act down to the last decade of the sixteenth century, and is bound up with the lessees of these three tenements. The final result of the contest will be more easily understood by giving the lessees of the three tenements in tabular form with the dates of their leases, the tenements in question being the Cross Inn, a tenement (now No. 4 Cornmarket Street) later known as Royse's tenement, and finally the Crown, which in the latter part of the sixteenth century was known as Tattleton's

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house. Names of persons given as actual occupiers of the leased tenement or adjoining tenements are italicised. All names are given in the form in which they occur in the several leases.

Date of Lease.	CROSS INN.	ROYSE'S TENEMENT.	TATTLETON'S.
1553	John Walklyne, innholder		
1555 1560		<i>Robert Forest</i> Elizabeth Forest, widow	Thomas Malyson <i>Edmund Benet</i>
1561	Jhōn Wakline, "innholder"		
1564 1574	William Hough, furrier		John Tatleton
1583	{ William & Joan Hough <i>John Walklin</i>	Pearse Underhill	John Underhill, D.D. <i>late Elizabeth Tattleton</i>
1592	William Hough, furrier, & Joan his wife	<i>John Royce</i>	{ William Hough the younger <i>William Hough,</i> <i>furrier</i>
1601 1605	Andrew Leigh of London, gent.	Isaac Bartlemewe	

The Licensing Act was placed on the Statute Book between 28th June and 6th July 1553, but some time elapses before we meet with any record of the grant of licences in Oxford. Possibly the records are imperfect, or the intervening time may have been spent in a preliminary bout of the dispute between the University and City authorities as to whether the Vice-Chancellor or the Mayor was to be considered the Chief Officer of the City. At any rate, the first licences on record under the new statute are contained in a minute of the City Council of 15th September 1558, where "its was condiscended and agreed by the said Mayre " and Counsaill that Thomas Willyams, alderman, Thomas " Lane and John Wakelyn shall be vyntners for the towne

" of Oxforde, according to the Statute in anno 7 E. VI., yn
 " that behalf had and provided." ¹

In Wright's Collections this minute is extracted with the added comment: "which I believe were the first licences granted by the City." ² This is probably correct, since on 24th November a licence was granted by the Chancellor of the University, Dr. Tresham, to Bartholomew Lant, evidently as a counterblast to the City's claim to license.³ At a City Council of 24th September 1562 it was resolved that "Mr. Walklyn and Mr. Little's licenses shalbe taken "in, heretofore graunted by this house for sellynge of wyne, "and they dismyssed by this house for sellyng any more "wyne within this Citie . . ." ⁴ In 1574 the Cross Inn is leased to William Hough, furrier, and again in 1583 to William Hough and Joan his wife, John Walklin being named in the latter instance as occupier. During a part of this period Hough seems to have held a wine licence, for on 9th January 1579 the City Council made a grant of the third licence, "with the Consent of Mr. Houghe which had the former graunte," to John Dennys.⁵ How long before 1579 Hough had held this licence it is impossible to say.

It is by no means clear how the City considered themselves empowered to bestow this licence on Dennys, for in 1575 they resolved that "the former lycenses of thys cytie "for selling of wines shalbe and remayne repealed by this "Act and that Mr. Cogan, Mr. Noble and Mr. Spencer shall "have their lycenses from thys Cytie." ⁶ The first two licences were renewed in 1578,⁷ and in 1594 Richard Spencer is licensed in place of his father William Spencer deceased.⁸ And yet in 1586 they resolved that "John Harris shalbe "allowed a Vyntner for this Cytie in the place of Mr. Dennys "who has given up his license." ⁹ It is difficult to avoid

¹ Council Book A, f. 36.

² City Archives E, 4, 8.

³ Archiv. Univ. Reg. Cur. Canc., GG, 261A.

⁴ Council Book A, f. 47.

⁵ *Ibid.* A, f. 212.

⁶ *Ibid.* A, f. 191.

⁷ *Ibid.* A, f. 211.

⁸ *Ibid.* B, f. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.* A, f. 283.

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the conclusion that for a time at least the City was issuing licences above the statutory number of three.

Reference to the table of leases will show that in addition to the name of Hough that of Underhill also appears in connection with this group of tenements about this time. The clue to this is the marriage on 15th September 1567 of "Gulielmus Hough et Johanna Underhyll,"¹ the latter being the sister of "Pearse" Underhill, the lessee of Royse's tenement. This marriage may be regarded as the foundation-stone on which the history of the future Crown Tavern was built.

There is no direct evidence that the site of what is now No. 3 Cornmarket was being used during this period as a tavern, but there is a very strong presumption in favour of that idea. Firstly, it seems more than probable that Wakelyn's licence was used in connection with what was afterwards known as "Tattleton's house," because it is hardly likely that, had it been employed for the retail of wine at the Cross Inn, it and subsequent licences would not have continued so used throughout. Apart from this, a tavern and an inn were very clearly distinguished in early times, and there is no instance of the employment of a wine licence at any inn, at any rate in the seventeenth century. The term "inn" connoted accommodation for travellers and their horses, while a tavern was never so used. As proof may be cited the case of the Mermaid Tavern at the south-west corner of Carfax. In mediæval times this house was known as the Swyndlestock, and is always called a tavern. It occupied quite a small area and had no accommodation such as would be requisite for travellers. It was essentially a house for the retail of wine. This fact justifies the assumption that John Wakelyn by some arrangement used his licence to conduct a tavern at what was afterwards known as Tattleton's house (an assumption which becomes stronger in the case of William Hough's licence), since it seems certain

¹ A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 210.

that the trade Tattleton followed was that of vintner ; otherwise it is difficult to explain why the name " Tattleton's house " should have remained current after his death at a time when it is known for certain that the house was conducted as a tavern. There is nothing to indicate immediately that Pierce Underhill was not using his wine licence at the Crosse Inn ; and personally—that is to say, as occupier and vintner, having exchanged his former trade of saddler to go into close business relations with the Houghs. But by way of argument against the supposition that the Crosse Inn had at this period in reality qualified for the more exalted title of tavern, it is worthy of remark that, after Underhill's death, all the Oxford wine licences can be located elsewhere than at the Cross. One of these is that granted by the City in 1604 to John Davenant, who is the first person in actual occupation of the Tavern to be styled vintner. It is only with him that certain ground is reached. So far as documentary evidence in Oxford is concerned, the previous existence of a tavern at No. 3 Cornmarket is largely a matter of conjecture. Secondly, Wakelyn lost his licence in 1562, but is still an innholder occupying the Cross Inn in 1583. Thirdly, William Hough holds a wine licence down to 1579, while Wakelyn was still at the Cross. Meanwhile John Tattleton continued in the Tavern tenement down to his death in 1581,¹ and was followed by his widow (see leases of 1583) down to her death in June 1582.² In 1583 William Hough and his Underhill relations obtain possession by lease of all three tenements, but in spite of that the Tavern tenement can still be described in 1601 and 1613 as " commonly known as Tattleton's House." In the lease of 1592 Hough is the actual occupier of " Tattleton's," and may well have been such in 1583. William Hough the younger, who took the lease in 1592, does not otherwise come into the story. From 1579 to 1596, the date of the expiry of Hough's licence,

¹ A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 230.

² *Ibid*,

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we do not know what licence was used at "Tattleton's" house. The records of the wine licences in Oxford in the late sixteenth century are very confused and imperfect, and the gaps are in many cases only to be explained by the practice according to which the licencees did not use their licences personally, but sublet them to others.

The death of William Hough the elder occurred in the closing years of the century—his widow is Joan Staunton in 1601—and to judge from the date of his will about 1596. On 6th June 1596 Lord Buckhurst, Chancellor of the University, granted to Pierce or Piercy Underhill a licence to sell wine and keep an inn.¹ At the time of his death in 1603, as shown by his will, Underhill was in occupation of the Cross Inn. These two events must be intimately connected with one another.

THE DAVENANTS

As the work in which this appendix is incorporated is largely concerned with the history of John Davenant and his family, it is unnecessary to deal with him at great length. The first actual reference to him in Oxford documents is the baptism of his daughter, "Jane Dennant," on 11th February 1602, at St. Martin's Church, followed by that of "Robert Davenant, son of Mr. Davenant, vintner," on 14th April 1603.² In the following year, on 4th June, six months after Pierce Underhill's death, the City Council agreed that "Mr. John Davenant vintner shall henceforth be free of this Cytie and have a lycense of this Cytie to sell wine and a Bayliffe place in this cytie for the some of eight pounds paid to this Cytie."³ It is clear, therefore, that prior to 1604 he was merely an agent, carrying on a tavern

¹ A. Clark, *Reg. Univ.*, ii. Pt. 1, 323.

² Registers of St. Martin's Church, Oxford. In A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 228, Wood gives the year of the second baptism as 1604. This is incorrect.

³ Council Book B, f. 94.

by virtue of a licence held by a second party, manifestly that of Pierce Underhill. The wife of John Staunton of London still enjoyed the remainder of the lease of the Tavern tenement renewed by William Hough in 1592. In 1601, though resident in London, she purchased from Richard Lamb the garden at the back of the tenement, thus adding to the amenities of the premises, and it was on the south side of the passage leading to this garden that Davenant built a wall. It is quite possible that previously she or her first husband had rented the garden and passage, though no documentary proof of this exists.

Of Davenant's history in Oxford, from 1604 onwards, we possess fairly ample information. Four more children besides Jane and Robert were born to him after 1604. In 1604, "decembris 30 was bapticed Alice Devenet, the daughter of John Devenet vintiner," and in 1606, "martii 3 was baptised William Devenet, the sonne of John Devenet vintener."¹ Lastly, on 2nd October 1612 he takes an oath of allegiance to the University as a burgess, and on 4th October of the following year as a Bailiff,² having been chosen as such by the City.³

It was during this period that the Tavern is alleged to have sheltered at intervals its most distinguished guest in Shakespeare. The friendship between the Davenants and Shakespeare is recorded in well-known passages in Aubrey's *Brief Lives*⁴ and in Anthony Wood's (1632-95) *Athenae Oxonienses* (first published 1691-92).⁵

Outside these records, nothing has come down to us of Shakespeare's connection with the Davenants, if we except the scandal about William Davenant's parentage, which has been so often discussed that it is unnecessary to make more than bare mention of it.

¹ Registers of St. Martin's Church, Oxford.

² A. Clark, *Reg. Univ.*, ii. Pt. 1, p. 307.

³ A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 35.

⁴ A. Clark, *John Aubrey, Brief Lives*, i. 204.

⁵ Bliss ed., iii. 802.

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On 1st August 1613 a new lease of "Tattleton's house" was taken by Walter Paine, alderman, with a licence of alienation.¹ This Walter Paine must be identical with Walter Payne, bailiff, 1595,² with "Mr. Baylie Payne," who on 6th June 1595 was licensed by the City in place of Mr. Will. Spencer deceased,³ and also with the Walter Paine who is empowered to take seisin of the garden on Joane Staunton's behalf in 1602.⁴ He was Mayor in 1607 and 1617,⁵ being described as chandler (afterwards innholder) and as innholder, and died in 1619.⁶

The perpetually recurring dispute between the University and City about the right to grant wine licences raged particularly acutely in the seventeenth century, and one of the first victims, of whom we have record, was Davenant. The University asserted their authority in the strongest manner, and on 19th October 1620, Martin Powdrell, Katherine Harris and John Davenant surrendered to the University licences granted them at different times by the City, Davenant's being that of 4th June 1604.⁷ To further emphasise their presumptive rights, on 2nd January 1621 the following vintners were forbidden by the University to pay anything to the City on pretext of obtaining a licence to sell wine: William Grisse, William Brooke, Martha Garbrand (widow) and John Davenant.

There is no record of the University granting a licence to Davenant, but it is absolutely certain from Davenant's will that his activities as a vintner in no way slackened by reason of his surrender of his City licence. This is only one of several instances in which the existing data about the wine licences issued in Oxford appear to run counter to the facts. The explanation in this instance fortunately is not

¹ New College, *Reg. Dim. ad Firm.*, 7, f. 404.

² A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 332.

³ Council Book B, f. 21.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 586.

⁵ A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 34-5.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 23.

⁷ Archiv. Univ., N. Press E, 7tus (extract from Reg. Cur. Canc., GG, f. 349).

far to seek. The controversy between the University and City over the correct interpretation of Edward the Sixth's wine-licensing statute was naturally enough far from conducive to a feeling of security of tenure among those who plied the trade of vintner in Oxford. Any remedy, however drastic or costly, was better than the chance of disturbance in the exercise of an honest livelihood from no fault of their own, especially as there was no prospect of a settlement of the dispute in favour of one party or the other. Thus it becomes evident that the vintners decided comparatively early that the only safe principle to act upon was to serve both God and Mammon. To this end they secured licences in one way or another from both parties.

Davenant seems to have been one of the first, if not actually the very first, to adopt this measure. In the course of a protracted lawsuit, which lasted from 1651 to 1653, between Humphrey Bodicot and Thomas Wood, two noted vintners of their day, Mrs. Jane Hallom, Davenant's daughter, in giving evidence about the custom of alienating wine licences, deposed that "Mr. Garbrande about 40 "yeares since did assign his license graunted by the "Chancellor unto this deponent's father (paying rent "yearly). And further . . . Mrs. Garbrand, relict of Mr. "Garbrande, did let the license unto her father . . ." ¹

It may have been prescience on Davenant's part which prompted him to secure a University licence some years earlier and thus render himself immune against such an event as actually happened in 1620. In any case his action proved to have been a wise one, for without the Garbrand licence his occupation would have ceased to exist after 19th October 1620.

In 1621 Davenant was elected Mayor of Oxford, but he was not destined to complete his year of office. On 5th April 1622, "Jane Davenett, wife of John Davenett then Mayor of this City," was buried in St. Martin's Church,

¹ Archiv. Univ., Files of the Chancellor's Court, 1651-53.

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Carfax, and not three weeks after, on 23rd April, "John Davenett, then Mayor of this City," was laid beside her.¹

He appointed as his "overseers" or trustees, "Alderman Harris, Alderman Wright, Mr. John Bird, Mr. William Gryce & Mr. Thomas Davis." Of these it may be noted in passing, Alderman Harris is Francis Harris, host of the Mermaid Tavern at Carfax, and William Gryce (or Grice), whom Davenant clearly names as his principal trustee, held the Three Tuns Tavern on the site of the western end of University College in the High Street.

After Davenant's death matters moved apace. Robert the eldest soon took his B.A. from St. John's College on 9th May 1622, and his degree determined early in 1623. As for the girls, Aubrey speaks of "two handsome daughters, "one married to Gabriel Bridges (B.D., fellow of C.C. Coll., "beneficed in the Vale of White Horse), another to Dr. "(William) Sherburne (minister in Pembridge in Hereford "and a canon of that church)." These are Elizabeth and Alice, of whom Elizabeth married "en secondes nocces" Richard Bristow, B.D., Rector of Didcot.² She appears as Elizabeth Bristow on the monument erected by Charles Davenant, son of Sir William Davenant, in St. Martin's Church. Alice, one of the two younger daughters, did not have to serve very long behind the bar in the Tavern after her father's death.³

There remains the second daughter, Jane, whom Aubrey ignores, but who none the less was evidently a remarkable young woman with a mind of her own and a keen eye to the main chance.

Thomas Hallom, the son of George Hallom of Amerton, Staffordshire, husbandman, had been apprenticed to "John Devennt de Civ^e Oxon vintener" on 9th November, 14 Jac.,

¹ C. J. H. Fletcher, *The Church of St. Martin (Carfax)*, p. 136.

² The dates of these marriages are unknown to the writer.

³ See John Davenant's will.

i.e. 1616, for eight years to run from Christmas, 1616.¹ Consequently his years would not be up in the normal course of events until the end of 1624, over two and a half years after his master's death. But that did not suit Jane's purpose. She married Thomas Hallom, but did not wait for the expiration of the apprenticeship—nay more, she did not even wait for the probate of her father's will, for probate was granted on 20th October 1622: "Roberto Davenett et Janae Hallam als Davenett." Perhaps John Davenant had seen which way the wind was blowing and had drawn up his will accordingly. Some inkling of this is suggested by the preamble of his will.

With his marriage to Jane, Thomas Hallom's apprenticeship must have been allowed to lapse, since on 25th October, 20 Jac., *i.e.* 1622, Thomas Hallom, vintner, took as his apprentice Richard Kemberly, son of William Kemberly, late of Stafford, yeoman deceased, for eight years; and again on 4th November of the same year George Walthoe, son of William Walthoe of Stafford, gent., who had been apprenticed on 17th February 1621 for eight years from 25th December 1620, agreed to serve the remainder of his time with Thomas Hallom, vintner, his master.²

On 15th April 1623 Thomas Hallom and Jane his wife were licensed to sell wine by retail "with a proviso not to assign or alien y^e license without leave."³ This licence was renewed within a year, for we find "1624, 31 March. Licentia concessa Thomae Hallum et Jane modernae eius uxori per Gulielmū Comit : Pembr."⁴ and again "another [licence] to y^e same [*i.e.* Thomas and Jane Hallom] with y^e clause during their or either of their lives."⁵

Robert Davenant was elected a travelling-fellow of St.

¹ City Archives $\frac{L}{2}5$, *Hannisters*, 1613-1640, f. 32.

² *Ibid.* ff. 78 and 108.

³ Archiv. Univ., North Press E, 7tus; *Acta Cur. Canc.*, GG, f. 350B.

⁴ *Ibid.* West Press B, 35.

⁵ *Ibid.* North Press E, 7tus.

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John's in July 1623¹ and, if the two other sisters were married by this time, Thomas Hallom and Jane, having "fancied one another," would be left in undisputed possession of the Tavern.

Thomas Hallom died in 1636,² and his widow continued to conduct the Tavern for some thirty more years, for part of the time at least only as a sleeping partner, until at some date between 1665 and 1667 she retired to a house in the parish of St. Peter-le-Bailey, where she died on 27th September 1667.³

Jane Hallom's successors at the Tavern were William Morrell and his wife Anne, who, as already shown, were probably responsible for the name of "the Crown," by which the Tavern was thenceforth known.

¹ *Catalogue of Shakespeare Exhibition in the Bodleian Library*, p. 81.

² A. Clark, *Wood's City of Oxford*, iii. 36.

³ Consistory of Oxford (Will, Inventory and Bond).

THE DAVENANTS OF LONDON AND OXFORD

OWING to the fact that between 1572 and 1596 there were two cousins named John Davenant, both described as merchant taylors, each with a son named John and living in the same London parish for most of this period, it has been somewhat of a puzzle at times to differentiate them in the records. For the sake of clearness I shall give as tersely as possible the order of my findings regarding them in my search to identify John Davenant of Oxford.

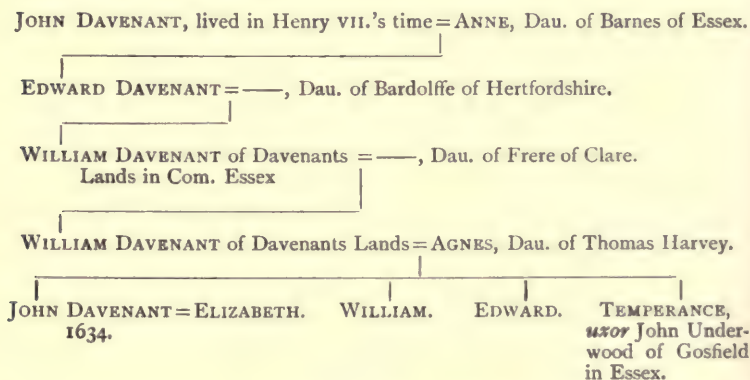
The first record of a Davenant I have succeeded in finding is the marriage of Robert Davinant ¹ of Esterford, diocese of London, and Johanna Maye of Barking upon 11th November 1521, in the Marriage Licences of the Bishop of London. I cannot learn definitely whether or not he was connected with the same family as John Davenant of Oxford, but, as he is the only Davenant I have found in the records for over a hundred years after this date for whom I have been unable to trace this connection, it is very probable that he belonged to the same family, and not unlikely that he was an older brother of Rafe Davenant's—and consequently, as will appear, the grandfather of John Davenant of Oxford—who had died before Rafe

¹ In the Parish Registers, State Papers, Merchant Taylors' Records and other sources examined, I find the name spelt in a great many different ways, such as Devnet, Devenett, Davenett, Davinant, Davenant, Davenaunte, Dabenett, etc.

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Davenant made his will in 1552. The only other Robert Davenant I find in the London records of the family at this period is Robert, son of John Davenant of Oxford, born 10th March 1602 or 1603.

The next record in order of date I find is in the State Papers, where the name of "Rauffe Davenant" appears in 1537 amongst ninety-seven names of merchant taylors. This was John of Oxford's granduncle, extracts from whose will I shall quote later on. Rafe is again mentioned in August 1544 and May 1545, in records quoted by Gairdner in Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of *Worthies of England*, whose mother was Rafe Davenant's granddaughter Judith, states that Rafe Davenant was of Davenant's Lands in Essex.¹ A Visitation of Essex made in 1634 gives the following Davenant genealogy :



It is probable that Rafe and his "brother Davenant" were younger sons of John Davenant of the time of Henry VII. mentioned above (1485-1509).

Rafe Davenant was married twice—first to Ellyn, by whom he had one daughter, Judith, who married Gerard Gore, a well-to-do merchant taylor, on 25th May 1550.

¹ *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. p. 359.

His second wife was Joan Leveson, by whom he had a large family ; we can trace eleven of his children in the baptismal records of All Hallows and in his will. His eldest son was a John Davenant, who, in making his will in 1595—a year before his death—mentions himself as John Davenant the elder. As he had a cousin of about his own age named John Davenant who, it will appear, was brought up with him, who, like him, became a merchant tailor, and who lived in the same or a contiguous parish in later years, the term “the elder” may have been commonly used to differentiate them. For the purposes of this narrative I will hereafter refer to these cousins as “the elder” and “the younger,” the latter being the father of John Davenant of Oxford.

When Rafe Davenant made his will in 1552, in which year he died, he left the largest portion of his property to his eldest son John Davenant (the elder), who was then thirteen years old. Two years later he was apprenticed to his brother-in-law, Gerard Gore, and was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company upon 8th October 1562, to the livery of the Company on 9th June 1567, and elected to the Court of Assistants on 13th September 1593. He was Warden of the Company in 1592–3. He married Margaret Clarke of Farnham in Surrey, and died in 1596, leaving a handsome fortune to his family, the largest portion to his eldest son Edward ; he and his mother, Margaret, being named executors. A mention of this John Davenant as “John Davenett” in Clode’s *Memorials of the Merchant Taylors Company* led Dean Hutton to suggest in 1916 the possibility of his identity with the Oxford vintner.

Edward Davenant, the eldest son of John Davenant the elder, was born late in January 1569. At the age of about sixteen, *i.e.* 31st May 1584, he was apprenticed to his father for eight years, admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company, 17th January 1592, to the

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livery on 5th June 1602. He married Anne Symes of St. Lawrence, Poultney, London, daughter of Randall Symes, clothmaker, on 24th November 1592. He inherited a large property from his father, which he greatly increased, was the most prominent merchant in his parish and was known as "Merchant Taylor, and Merchant of Russia and Persia." While still in the prime of life he retired from business and went to live at Salisbury. He was a Cambridge scholar and is reputed to have been devoted to study even during his years of business activity.

The second son of John Davenant, the elder, born 25th May 1572, was another John Davenant. This son was not apprenticed to a merchant taylor, though he was admitted to the freedom of the Company by patrimony, 22nd June 1590; instead he went to Cambridge, where—his nephew Fuller records—he became first fellow-commoner, then fellow, then Margaret Professor and later Master of Queen's College. At a still later date he became Bishop of Salisbury.

The successive mercantile labours of Rafe Davenant, John Davenant the elder, and Edward, eldest son of the latter, evidently greatly enhanced the wealth of this branch of the family, so that when Edward Davenant retired from business and went to live at Salisbury his means must have been large. His sister Margaret, who had married Wm. Townley, gentleman, after his death in 1603 married Robert Tounson, who became Dean of Westminster in 1617, and Bishop of Salisbury on 9th July 1620, dying in the following year, when he was succeeded in his bishopric by his brother-in-law, John Davenant. Bishop Tounson was buried on 16th May 1621 in Westminster Abbey "in the long aisle on the south side over against St. Edmund's Chapel." It was probably at this period that Edward Davenant retired from business and went to reside at Salisbury. He died in 1639 at the age of seventy, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral. This was the Edward

Davenant mentioned by Aubrey as being, though a business man, a better scholar than his brother the bishop. Bishop Davenant died in 1641, and is buried near his brother in Salisbury Cathedral. John and Edward Davenant's older sister Judith, who first married Stephen Payne, after his death married the Rev. Thos. Fuller of Aldwinkle (St. Peter's), Northamptonshire, and became the mother of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of *Worthies of England*.

We now come to the father and grandfather of John Davenant of Oxford. When Rafe Davenant made his will in 1552 he bequeathed "to my brother Davenants three children eight pounds that is to say John Davenant now dwelling with me fowre pounds and to the other two children fortie shillings apiece." As he makes no other mention of "brother Davenant" nor of any other brother, but leaves "to my sister Davenant a black gown of eight shillings the yard," it is apparent that the brother mentioned was dead at this time. If Rafe Davenant derived from Davenant's Lands it is evident that his brother did also. I find no record of the birth of any of "brother Davenants three children" in any of the London registers.

The next record I find of any of the three children of Rafe's "brother Davenant" mentioned above is in the Freeman's list of the Merchant Taylors Company, where John Davenant is recorded as apprenticed to Oliver Rowe in 1554, admitted to the freedom of the Company, 26th March 1563, and to the livery, 14th June 1569. Upon 15th February 1562-3, that is, about six weeks before he attained his freedom,—I learn by the marriage registers of All Hallows,—he was married to Judith Sparke, daughter of John Sparke, merchant taylor. A little over two years later his first child was born. In the registers of St. Thomas the Apostle, on 6th August 1565, the birth of John Davenant, son of John Davenant, is recorded. That the father mentioned was Rafe's nephew, John Davenant the younger, is evidenced by the fact that in the same registers, on 16th

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August 1568, the marriage of his sister Mary Davenant is recorded to John Kelling. Mary Kelling, Keeling or Kelinge, is thereafter mentioned frequently in Davenant and Gore wills by her relatives; by the Davenants usually as "cousin Mary Kelinge," and by the Gores as "sister Kelling or Kelinge."

When John Davenant the elder (son of Rafe) made his will in 1595, after leaving "to my cousin John Davenant a ring of gold worth three pounds and to John Davenant son of my said cousin John Davenant in token of goodwill five pounds and a ring of gold worth fortie shillings, and to Katherine sister of the said John five pounds and a ring of gold worth fortie shillings, and to every one of my said cousin John Davenants children besides the aforesaid John and Katherine fortie shillings apiece to make each of them a ring in token of my goodwill," he follows immediately with their aunt Mary Kelinge: "Item I give and bequeath unto my cousin Mary Kelinge widow five pounds."

It is now apparent that of the four John Davenants who appear in the London records of this period, and who were in any way connected with the Merchant Taylors Company, that Rafe's son John, his grandson John and his nephew John were none of them later on the Oxford vintner; and it becomes clear that his grandnephew, born in 1565 and later recorded as entered at the Merchant Taylors' School in 1574, apprenticed to Robert Kendrick in 1581 and admitted to the freedom of the Company in 1589,—the only one of the four Johns who is recorded as receiving his education at the Merchant Taylors' School,—was the John Davenant, afterwards the Oxford mayor and vintner, who entered his three sons Robert, John and Nicholas, successively, at this school.

I cannot learn the name of the grandfather of John Davenant of Oxford whom Rafe mentions in his will as "brother Davenant" if the Robert Davinant already

mentioned was not he. As there is no reason to doubt the report of Rafe's great-grandson, Fuller, that Rafe was of Davenant's Lands, it appears evident by the Visitation quoted that Rafe's and his "brother Davenant's" father was John Davenant of Davenant's Lands. All the names mentioned in the Visitation persist in the family as late as we find record of it.

The names of Rafe's "brother Davenants three children" were evidently John, Mary and Margaret, the latter two being mentioned in the will of John Davenant the elder as "my cousin Mary Kelinge" and "my cousin Margaret Coe alias Copley," both mentions being in conjunction with the legacies to their brother, John Davenant, and his son, John of Oxford. After the birth of John of Oxford his father apparently moved from the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle into the adjoining parish of All Hallows, as the births of several of his later children are registered there. As his cousin John Davenant the elder lived in this parish, and both were merchant taylors, it was only by co-ordinating the entries in the registers with information gained in wills and in the Merchant Taylors Company records that I have been able to differentiate their children.

John Davenant the younger, father of John of Oxford, outlived his rich and prosperous cousin and namesake by eleven years. He apparently was not wealthy, but appears always to have been highly regarded by his relatives, who refer to him frequently and respectfully in their wills. In 1605 his son Edward was made free of the Merchant Taylors Company by patrimony; in this instance the Court Minutes of the Company read: "and all fees pardoned because his father is an ancient brother and fallen into decay." Gerard Gore, Rafe Davenant's son-in-law, who died in December, refers in his will made in 1602 to John of Oxford's father as "my brother John Davenant," and also mentions "the children of my late sister Keeling." Between 1605, when

his son Edward secured his freedom, and 3rd February 1608, John Davenant the younger must have died, as Gerard Gore's wife Ellyn Gore, whose will was probated on the latter date, refers to him as "my late brother John Davenant," and leaves a legacy to "the daughter of my late sister Keeling." Sir John Gore, who was a son of John and Ellyn Gore, in his will, probated on 5th January 1636-7, leaves a legacy to "my cousin Mary Marshall daughter of my late uncle John Davenant." Thomas Gore, a brother of Gerard, in his will, probated 3rd January 1585, leaves "to John Davenant and Judith his wife rings worth fortie shillings each."

The strong sense of kinship shown by the Gores to John of Oxford's father,—who was a nephew of Gerard Gore's father-in-law, Rafe Davenant,—and the fact that Gerard Gore mentions him as "my brother John Davenant," Ellyn Gore, his wife, as "my late brother," and Ellyn's son, Sir John Gore, as "my late uncle John Davenant" would seem to bespeak some closer kinship than the one above mentioned, though it is probable that John Davenant the younger, having been brought up in his uncle's house, came to be regarded by Ellyn Davenant, the wife of Gore, as a brother and by her children as an uncle. Ellyn's brother, John Davenant the elder, in his will refers to Mary Kelinge in one place as "my cousin" and in another as "sister Kelinge."

I have failed to find any record of a will of John Davenant the younger. It appears probable, however, that John Davenant of Oxford inherited from him the property he owned at Deptford, which he willed to his son Nicholas, as follows: "Item I give to my son Nicholas my house at the White Bear in Deptford which is let to Mr. Haines Schoolmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School." It is unlikely that John Davenant of Oxford would be making new real estate investments at Deptford while he lived at Oxford.

An assiduous search has failed to reveal any definite mention of John Davenant of Oxford other than those in the wills quoted, between 1589, when he attained his freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company, and 1602, when the birth of his first child is recorded in the registers of St. Martin's of Oxford. It is evident, however, that he did not remain long in the woollen business after attaining his freedom, as he never attained to the livery of the Company, as the records show that his father and his father's first cousin, John Davenant the elder, did, though his cousin John the Bishop, who also eschewed the woollen business, is not recorded as attaining to the livery of the Company.

I have also been unable to find any particle of evidence that in any way negatives my circumstantial and inferential evidence for his marriage to Anne Sachfeilde between October 1590, when her father died, and July 1592, when the Houghs took out new leases on the Crosse Inn and the adjoining tavern at Oxford.

I have given evidence for my belief that a disruption took place between John Davenant and Anne by 1596, when the attempted reissue of *Willobie his Avis*, with its revelatory "Apologie," was evidently prevented by the public censor and when *Penelope's Complaint* was published, with Anne referred to by name in Samuel Daniel's prefatory verses. Unless Davenant and his wife had separated it is unlikely that Roydon and his friends would have become so daring at this time. That Anne Davenant died before 1601 is evidenced by the fact that John Davenant remarried about this time, divorces being then unobtainable. The successive births of seven children inside of about nine years and all known records of Mistress Jane Davenant attest happy and congenial relations between John Davenant and his second wife, and it now becomes obvious that the gossip of Aubrey and Anthony Wood is merely a distorted and belated reflection of the early scandal, the first rumour

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of which transpired from seventy to eighty years before its dying echoes came to their ears.

The children of John Davenant of Oxford were evidently all born after 1601. I have secured the following data from St. Martin's registers at Oxford, from Anthony Wood's transcripts of the registers of St. Martin's in his *Wood's City of Oxford*, from C. H. J. Fletcher's *A History of the Church and Parish of St. Martin's (Carfax), Oxford*, or from the records of entries at the Merchant Taylors' School :

JANE, daughter of John Devnett . . .	Bap. February 1601-2.
ROBERT DAVENANT ¹	Born March 10, 1602-3.
ALICE, daughter of John Devnett . . .	Bap. December 30, 1604.
WILLIAM, son of John Davenant, vintner	Bap. March 3, 1605-6.
JOHN DAVENANT	Born 1607.
NICHOLAS DAVENANT	Born 1611.

In addition to the children above recorded, John Davenant leaves a legacy also to his daughter Elizabeth. It seems probable that she was born between 1607 and 1611.

Notwithstanding the fact that John Davenant in his will mentions "my three daughters," "my four sons" and "my seven children," certain critics have supposed that he had eight children, mistaking the "George" mentioned in his will for one of his children, when in fact he was one of his apprentices.

Jane Davenant, the Mayor's second wife, died early in April 1622 and was buried in St. Martin's parish on the 5th of April; her husband dying about a fortnight later, being buried in the same place, 23rd April 1622.

The inaccuracy of John Aubrey's knowledge of the Davenants and the Tavern is manifest in the facts that he reports Davenant as having three sons and two daughters, while he had four sons and three daughters, and that he reports Shakespeare as lodging at a tavern as though it

¹ Anthony Wood records his baptism on 14th April 1604. The date given above is from the Registers of the Merchant Taylors' School.

were an inn. Shakespeare could not have stayed at this house except as the personal guest of the family, as it did not supply either sleeping accommodation, meals or stabling, though the Crosse Inn next door supplied all three. Anthony Wood, whose account so closely resembles that of Aubrey that it is apparent he used his information, does not make this mistake, but says Shakespeare "frequented his (Davenant's) house in his journeys between Warwickshire and London."

Whatever may have been the relations between Shakespeare and Anne Davenant in, or later than, 1596, when the dissemination of Roydon's and Daniel's scandal regarding her infers that she had then left her husband and come up to London and become, as she is described in the 137th sonnet :

If eyes, corrupt by over-partial looks,
Be anchor'd in *the bay where all men ride*,
Why of eyes' falsehood hast thou forged hooks,
Whereto the judgement of my heart is tied ?
Why should my heart think that a several plot
Which my heart *knows the wide world's common place* ?

it is most unlikely that such relations subsisted between them in Oxford and before this date, though it is evident that her relations with others led her to take this step, or else compelled Davenant to put her away at about this time.

The subsequent satirical reflections of Shakespeare's literary and dramatic rivals, and the frequent republications of *Willobie his Avis*, permanently linked her name with the growing fame of Shakespeare to the effacement of knowledge of her other lovers, her reputation in course of time becoming confused with the memory of the mother of Sir William Davenant, whose literary vanity led him, when in his cups, to forward the distorted gossip by confiding to his bibulous cronies—as reported by Aubrey—"that it seemed to him that he writ with the very spirit of Shakespeare."

1. EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF RAUFE
DAVENANT. 1552

P.C.C. 2 Tashe

FOLLOWING a preamble and some small bequests to the sexton and clerks of All Hallows : " And after my boddy buried Then I will that all and singuler suche debtes and dwties as I owe to any parsone and parsones of Right or in conscience shall be trewly contented and paid And that done Then I will that all and syngular my goodes cattalles plate debtes jewelles wares merchandizes howshold stuff and reddymoney shall be devyded in to equall and indifferent partes or porçons accordinge to the usage and custome of the Cyttye of London wherof one parte I give and bequeath to Joane my Welbeloved wief One other parte I give and bequeath unto and amongst my children John Davenaunte Jamys Davenaunte William Davenaunte Gryssyel Davenaunte Dennys Davenaunte and Mary Davenante porçon and porçon licke to be paid and delivered unto them as they shall accomplish and come to their lawfull ages of xxi yeres or mariages accordinge to the said custome And every of the same children to be others heire if it shall fortune any of them to decease before the (sic) shall come to the said age or maryage And the thirde parte therof I reserve to myself and to my Executors herunder namyde for the contentaçon or accomplishment of my legacies and bequestes herunder declared. * * * And likewise I bequeth to my sonne in lawe (blank) Gowere a black gowne of thirtene shillings fowre pence the yarde and a ring of gold of the valewe of three poundes and to his wieff my daughter a cassocke of thirtie shillings foure pence the yarde and a ring of golde of the valewe of fortie five shillings eight pence. * * * And I bequeathe to my syster Davenannte a Blacke gowne of eighte shillings the yarde. * * * Item I bequethe to my Brother Davenauntes

three children eight poundes. That is to say to John Davenannte nowe dwellinge with me fowre pounds and to the other two children fortie shillinges a peace to be paid and delyvered them as they shall come to their lawfull ages of twentie yeares or mariage. And every of them I will shall be others heire therof yf any of them fortune to decease in the meane tyme. And also I bequethe to everye of the same three children a coate of five shillinges the yarde. Item I bequethe to my companye of Merchant Taylors beinge of the lyverye for a dynner to be had amongst them tenne poundes. * * * The Resydue of all and synguler my parte and porcyon remaynyng unbequethed I wyll shalbe devyded ynto two equall partes or porçons wherof one moyty I geve and wyll shall remayne and be partydd and devyded amonges my childerne unmarryedd portyon and portyon lyke To be payde and delyverydd to them as they shall accomplysh and come to their lawfull ages or mariages as ys abovesayde and every of them to be others heire as I have before devysyd And of the executyon of this my present testamente and last wyll I ordeyne and make the foresayd Johanne my wyff and John Davenannte my sonne my executors And oversears of the same to see this my Wyll truly performydd I ordeyne and make my brother yn lawe John Sadler my cowsyn Thomas Wylkes and my sonne yn lawe Gerarde Gower yn whom I put my truste and confydence And I give and bequeth to the sayde John Sadler and Thomas Wylkes to either of them for their paynes to be takenne yn that behaulf a Ryng of golde of the value of fyve markes to be gravyn with a dethes hedd yn either of the same Rynge And I bequeth to my sayd son Goower not only for and yn full reconpence of his paynes to be takenne yn that behaulf with other my oversears But also for and yn the name and full reconpence and satysfacyon of his wyves parte and portyon of my goodes cattalles and debtes to her due or whiche she may clayme by the custome of the

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cytye of London or otherwyse the some of three scoore poundes over and besydes sutchē portyon of my goodes as he hath hadd and recuyd alre dy in mariage with my daughter this ys the last wyll and testament of me the aforenamyd Raulf Davenaunt made and declarydd the day and yeare above wrytten touching and concernyng thorder and disposytyon of all my messuages Landes tenamentes and heredytamentes with their appurtenaunces wherof I am sezaid of anny estate of Inherytaunce by the whiche I geve bequethe and assigne unto the above namyd Johanne my wyf my greate messuage or tenement with the garden orchardes and dovehowse therunto adioyning and my two greate closes of Lande with their appurtenaunces lyeing and beyng yn Edmonton als Edelmeton yn the County of Mydd whiche I nowe holde yn myne owne handes and the yearlye Rentes and proffyttes of the same To have and to holde the premysses to the sayd Johanne my wyff and to her assignes during and untill sutchē tyme as John Davenaunte my sonne shall come to and accomplyshe his age of xxv yeares yf the sayd Johanne so longe lyve and not otherwyse upon condytyon that the sayd Johanne or her assignes do truly pay or cause to be payde to old mystres Asheby sometyme cauldydd Mystres Browne yearly during her naturall lyf fower poundes of lawfull money of Englonde quarterly or haulf yearly as yt shalbe demaundydd by the saide mystres Assheby or her assignes And also upon condytyon that the sayde Johanne my wyff or her assignes do well and suffyciently repayre and mayntayne the sayde messuage or tenement and all the howses and edyfycion of the same from tyme to tyme as oft as neade shall requyre during and untill sutchē tyme as my sayde sonne John shall come to his sayde age of xxv yeares or ymmedyaty after the decease of my sayde wyff yf she shall fortune to decease before my sayde sonne John shall come to accomplysshe his sayde age I geve and bequeth all my sayde greate messuage or

tenement with gardene orcharde dovehowse and two closes of Lande with their appurtenaunces to the sayde John my sonne and to his heires for ever It^m I geve and bequeth to the sayde Johanne my wyff all those Landes and tenamentes with their appurtenaunces wheryn the sayde Johanne is joynyd purchaser with me to have and to holde to her and to her assignes for terme of her lyff naturall It^m I geve and bequeth to the sayd John Davenaunte my sonne And to his heires for ever All that my greate tenamente with thappurtenaunces caulyd the Bell scytuate yn moore lane yn the paryshe of saynte Gyles without crepulgate of London and all other my tenamentes gardeynes Taynter groundes and Tayntors with their appurtenaunces to the sayde greate tenamente caulydd the Bell belonginge or adjoyning scytuate lyeng and being in the same paryshe of Saynt Gyles And also all that my greate tenement with thappurtenaunces caulydd the Maydenhedd with all other my tenamentes gardeyns Tayntors and Tayntor grounds adjoyning and belonging to the same tenamente caulydd the Maydenhedd scytuate lyeing and being yn moore lane aforesayde yn the same paryshe of Saynte Gyles And also that my tenement caulydd Dacres with an orcharde a gardeyne and a percell of Lande thereunto adjoyning and belonging withe thappurtenaunces sett lieing and being yn Edlemeton als Edmondton aforesayde nowe yn the tenure or occupacyon of William Holme And also all those my two Howses or tenamentes with two gardeynes one orcharde and an acre of pasture and other thappurtenaunces therunto adjoyning and belongyng nowe yn the severall tenures or occupacyons of one Kyng Smyth and Wever which I late purchasydd and bought of Edmonde Askewe To have and to holde the sayde messuages tenamentes and Landes and other the premyssees with their appurtenaunces to the sayde John my sonne and to his heyres The Reversion of all those my Landes and tenamentes with their appurtenaunces yn the

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County of Essex whiche my Syster yn lawe (blank) Peppys wyff of (blank) Peppes nowe holdyth for terme of her lyff To have and to holde to the sayde John my sonne and to his heires to thonly use and behouff of the same John and of his heyres for ever Item I geve and bequeth to James Davenaunte my sonne and to his heires all that my messuage or tenament caulyd the Pye with all shoppes cellers Sollers and all other Easmentes and Comodyties with the appurtenaunces to the sayde messuage or tenament belongynge or appertayning sett lyeng and beyng yn the Ryall yn the paryshe of St Michaelle pr ur (sic) Church next the Royall of London wheryn Thomas Cowdale nowe dwellith yn To have and to holde to the sayde James my sonne and to his heires to thonly use and behouff of the same James and of his heires for ever. * * * In wytnes wherof to this my present testament and last wyll concernyng the premysse I the sayde Raulf Davenaunte have put my hande and seale the day and yeare above wrytten Theis being wytnesses that ys to say per me Raulf Davenaunte John Sadler per me Thomas Wylkes Symone Goore per me John Sparke by me John Goodwyn by me Richarde Langham Alexander Peale and me Wm Pyerson skryveno^r.

Proved 29 January 1552 by Joan the relict and executrix of the deceased, power being reserved to the other executor.

On 16 March 1562 grant was made to John Davenaunt, the other executor."

2. EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF JOHN DAVENANT, SENIOR, SON OF RAFE DAVENANT AND FIRST COUSIN OF JOHN DAVENANT OF OXFORD

P.C.C. 79 Drake

FOLLOWING a preamble: " Therefore 18th July A.D. 1595, 35 Eliz. I John Davenaunte the elder citizen and marchantailer of London make my last will and testament as

regards chattels plate jewells ymplements debts etc in forme following :—Soul left to God. Body to be buried in convenient place as executors direct * * * I give and bequeath amongst my children—viz John William James Raphe George and Margaret Davenaunte equally to be divided. As touching my owne third part of my goods etc :—First I bequeath unto William James Raphe and George Davenaunt my sonnes and to Margaret Davenaunt my daughter one hundred and fifty pounds thereof a peece. The said severall portions out of my third part to each of my sons so given to be delivered to each at the age of 21. Said portion of £150 out of my third part to my daughter Margaret so bequeathed to be delivered to her at the age of 21 or at the day of her marriage. Further if any of the children die before the age of 21 the portion of any child so dying shall accrewe goe remayne and grow to the rest of my children equally to be divided. Also my will is that my son Edward Davenaunt shall have the use of the said several sums of money so given and bequeathed out of my said part to James Raphe and George my sons and Margaret my daughter until such times as they are to have the same by limitation of this my last will he paying unto every of them six pounce thirteen shillings and four pence a year, yearly to be paid to every one of them, three pounds six shillings eight pence every halfe year to be bestowed at their pleasures and he giving sufficient security unto every of them for the true payment of the said several sums. Item I do bequeath to my son in law Steven Payne in token of goodwill twenty pounds to buy him a gelding and to my daughter Judith his wife twenty marks to make her a pair of bracelets.

I bequeath unto every one of my children both sonnes and daughters a ring of gold value fifty shillings apiece. I bequeath unto my loving brother Wm Davenaunt in token of goodwill and love a ring of gold value £3. To my sister his wife ring of gold worth 40/- To every one of my

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said Brother's children (sons and daughters) 40/- apiece to make each of them a ring of gold. Item I bequeath to my cosen Margaret Coo als Copley the sum of five pounds to be delivered to her own hands whereby she may employ the same to her own proper use. I bequeath to said Margaret Coo als Copley an annuity of £4 yearly during her natural life (20/- each quarter) I bequeath to Bridgett Coo being now dwelling with me the sum of 40/- to make her a ring of gold And to every one of the residue of my sister Coo her children both sons and daughters 40/- apiece to make each of them a ring of gold. I bequeath to my cosen John Davenaunt son of my said cosen John Davenaunt in token of goodwill five pounds and a ring of gold worth 40/- And to Katherin Syster of the said John five pounds and a ring of gold worth 40/- And to every one of the rest of my said cosen John Davenaunts children besides the aforesaid John and Katherin 40/- apiece to make each of them a ring of gold in token of goodwill Item I give and bequeath unto my cosen Mary Kelinge widow £5 * * * As touching my lands tenements and heredytaments I give and bequeath them as follows :—To Margaret my wife in full recompense and satisfaction of her third of all my said lands etc. all these Rooms hereafter mentioned being part of my dwelling house situated in the parish of our Lady St Mary att Bowe in the City of London *i.e.* the kitchen and larder the chamber over the same wherein I usually do lie with the privy to it the chamber and a privy over the same a room leading to my great garrett and the great garrett my best chamber called the great chamber with ye Comptinge house and the privie to the same now used my greater parlor with a little Buttone here to yt my great Celler under my great parlor with free ingresse egress and regresse to all the same rooms as well by the wayes leading from Bowe Lane as from Watling Street during her life (she to keep same in repair) After her death said rooms to belong to my son Edward Davenaunt his heirs and

assigns forever. To son Edward Davenaunt all my messuages lands and tenements in the parish of St Mary att Bowe to him his heirs and assigns forever. To Margaret my wife in recompense of her said third aforesaid all my messuage house or tenement in Corydon County Surrey with lands in Corydon. To said Margaret for life (she to keep them in repair) Remainder to son Edward Davenaunt for life To remain after his death to heirs male of his body, In default to remain to my 2nd son Jno. Davenaunt with remainder to heirs male of his body In default to remain to son Wm Davenaunt and heirs male of his body In default to son James Davenaunt and heirs male of his body In default to son Raphe Davenaunt and heirs male of his body In default to son George Davenaunt and heirs male of his body In default to daughters Judith and Margaret Davenaunt and their heirs forever.

EXECUTORS : Margaret my wife and Edward Davenaunt my son.

OVERSEERS : My son in law Stephen Payne my loving brother in law George Lydeat and my faithful friend William Wilkes, citizen and vintner of London.

By me John Davenaunt sealed published and declared by the foresaid John Davenaunt for his last will and testament containing seven sheets of paper in the presence of us the persons hereunder named viz. I Geffery Whitney Marchanttailor Daniell Elliot Marchanttailor And of me David Lewes Scrivenor and of us Jno. Floode and Nicholas Gilbert apprentices to the said Scrivenor.

This will was proved at London before Master Wm Lewin Doctor of Law of the Prærogative Court of Canterbury the master or custodian etc deputed. 6 November 1596 On oath of Thos. Warde public notary procurator of Margaret Davenaunt widow of the deceased and Edward Davenaunt son Executors named in said will. To whom the administration was comitted etc."

WILLIAM BIRD, MAYOR OF BRISTOL, AND HIS FAMILY

WHEN Matthew Roydon in 1593-4 describes Avisa in *Willobie his Avisa* as

A lovely shoot of ancient stock,

he appears to have been aware of the history of this family and its antiquity in Bristol. Over a hundred years before William Bird, the father of Anne Sachfeilde, attained to the mayoralty of Bristol, a namesake and evidently one of his forebears held the same office; a William Bird having been Sheriff of Bristol in 1469-70 and Mayor in 1476.

A critical reading of the will of Mayor Bird, which was written at intervals between 1583 and 1590, reveals the fact that in addition to his legitimate children he acknowledges the paternity of five natural children who are, evidently, Richard Smith, William Lavington, and William, Mary and Anne Sachfeilde. It also appears that while his wife, Anne Bird, and her elder son Edward seem to have resented his relations with Anne Sachfeilde, senior, the mother of the children mentioned, his other legitimate children and his son-in-law, Miles Jackson, appear to have preserved his goodwill by keeping to themselves whatever objections they may naturally have had.

In the estimation of his fellow-townsmen no apparent discredit seems to have attached on this account to the free-living but generous and public-spirited Mayor. As one of the founders of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital he was

buried in St. Mark's of the Gaunts—later known also as The Mayor's Chapel—and in the most prominent place in the chancel, from which the stately chain-armoured effigies of the original Norman founders, Maurice de Gaunt and Robert de Gournay, as well as the supposed effigy of Henry de Gaunt, the first Master or Prior of St. Mark's, were moved to make room for his ornately carved, coloured and canopied Elizabethan monument. At later time restorations the Mayor's tomb was moved twice, and is now immediately on the inside to the left of the entrance of the chapel, where it is less incongruously conspicuous in the architectural scheme. The following inscription appears at the back of the tomb, the "Progeniemque" of the last line apparently bearing a tolerantly inclusive significance :

Gulielmus Birde obiit Octobris 8, anno 1590.

*Clarus, Prædices, sapiens, et pro grege Christi
Sollicitus, sedem et victum cultumque ministrans
Dormit in hoc tumulo, sed spiritus æthera scandit :
Vix dedit hisce virum Bristollia nostra diebus
Consimilen, ceu virtutem, ceu cætera spectes.
Gratus erat patriæ civis, jucundus amicis
Progeniemque suam multa cum laude reliquit.*

TRANSLATION.

William Bird died October 8 in the year 1590.

(He was) Illustrious, wealthy, wise, careful for the flock of Christ, administering his household with liberality and piety. He sleeps in this tomb, but his spirit has ascended to the skies. Bristol has hardly in these days produced his equal whether you consider his intrepid virtue or his other qualities. He was chivalrous to his country, delightful to his friends, and of gracious memory to the kindred he left behind.¹

Mayor Bird had four legitimate children—Marie, Edward, William and Anne. Marie married Miles Jackson, Gentleman, of Combhay in Somerset, whose connection with the present history will be developed further on. Edward, his elder son—with whom he seems to have come

¹ *St. Mark's, or the Mayor's Chapel.* By W. R. Barker, Bristol,

at odds after 1583, but who was evidently provided for before the Mayor's death, as no provision is made for him in the will other than a bequest made in 1593 which was later cancelled—died in 1596, leaving two daughters, Margery and Anne, to whom he bequeathed £150 apiece ; leaving £200 and the residue of his estate to his wife Anne Bird, who afterwards married Leonard Vizard, woollen draper of Bristol, one of the appraisers of her late husband's estate.

The Mayor's younger son, William, who inherited the largest share of the estate, died in 1597 leaving £200 apiece to his three sons, William, Thomas and John, and £200 to each of his two daughters, Anne and Mary, and the residue of the estate to his wife Marie, whom he appointed sole executrix.

The Mayor's younger legitimate daughter, Anne Bird, whom, in an early stage of my search, I expected to find to have been the original for Avisia and the "dark lady," married John Dowle (Dowell), Gentleman, of Over, a young lawyer whose services were retained in the settlement of the Mayor's somewhat involved will, and who appears to have settled it to his own satisfaction by marrying the youngest legatee among the legitimate children.

Anne Dowle died soon after the birth of her only child, John, in 1597, when John Dowle married again.

John Dowle, junior, following in the footsteps of his father, studied law, being entered at the Middle Temple in October 1615, in which year and month, at the age of eighteen, he matriculated at Oxford. During his years at the Middle Temple he appears to have been, in Recorder Fleetwood's phrase, "a marvellous audacious youth standing altogether upon his genterie." He was frequently and heavily fined and, upon one occasion, expelled for turbulent behaviour, but was later restored.

Upon the accession of Charles I., John Dowle, sr.,¹ was

¹ *Gloucester Inquisitiones Postmortum*. Edited by W. P. W. Phillimore and George S. Frey. 1895.

compelled to pay a composition of £25 for refusing the honour of knighthood. He died on 3rd September 1638, leaving a large estate to his son John. I find no record of his will.

Mayor Bird's widow outlived all of her children, and one of her sons-in-law, dying in May 1617, a few months after the death of Miles Jackson, bequeathing her small remaining property to her own grandchildren by her two sons and younger daughter, but failed to mention any of Miles Jackson's children by her daughter Marie.

Neither Edward Bird, William Bird, jr., nor the Mayor's widow, Anne Bird, in their wills make any bequest to or mention any of their Sachfeilde kindred, though Edward Bird who died six years after his father names his half-brothers, Edward Smyth and William Lavington, along with his brother William and his brothers-in-law, Miles Jackson and John Dowle, as overseers of his will. The first and only mention of any of the Sachfeilde family in any of the wills of their relatives is in that of Miles Jackson, probated on 3rd February 1616-7; lacking this will the literary and circumstantial evidence I adduce for the identity of Anne Sachfeilde as the first wife of John Davenant and as the original for Avisa of *Willobie his Avis*, and consequently as the "dark lady" of the Sonnets, while affording conclusive grounds for belief to analytical readers, might have remained unconvincing to more literal minds.

It may be inferred from a critical analysis of Mayor Bird's will that Richard Smyth and William Lavington were both older than any of his legitimate children, and consequently that they were both born before his marriage to his legal wife. Before 1587 Richard Smyth and his natural daughter are each left legacies of £100, the former being mentioned as "Richard Smyth, draper." In the margin is written against Smyth's name, "my will is that he pay all such moneys as he oweth me as by book and bond

may appear." From this it is evident that Richard Smyth at that time was well past his nonage and already established in business by his father.

In Mayor Bird's written will William Lavington is mentioned only once, and then merely as an overseer of the will ; no specific bequest being made to him other than his share of the "sobers"—which I assume means surplus—willed to "my five natural children." From this and other evidence to follow it appears that Lavington also was already provided for, being established in business and married. In view of later developments it appears probable that the Mayor's bequest of the "sobers" of his estate to "my five natural Children" was his plan to protect Anne Sachfeilde and her children by uniting their interests with those of Richard Smyth and William Lavington, and that it was recognised as such by his son William, who devised and produced the alleged nuncupative will to defeat this purpose. When we come to the nuncupative will we find Richard Smyth and his daughter receiving their original bequests of £100 each and Smyth's debts to his father forgiven. We also find William Lavington and his son—not previously mentioned as legatees except as sharers in the sobers—receiving between them £400. In Miles Jackson's will we have evidence that the Mayor's written will was declared void and that the estate was settled by arbitrament. It appears probable, however, that the nuncupative will, while not strictly adhered to, was used as the basis of the settlement. A passage in Jackson's will reads: "Also my will is that my wife Elinor shall pay unto my son William the somme of 100*l* in satisfaction unto him for so much received of his grandfather Byrdes gifte, not by will which was overthrown and voide but yeilded unto by arbitrament and so in some sorte allowed unto me provided always that he deliver unto my brother Dowle an acquittance acknowledging the resceite therof as his grandfathers gifte. Item I give unto my son Myles

Jackson the somme of 100*l* of good and lawful money of England to be paid unto him within three months next after my decease and for the 100*l* which was given to him by an awarde after his grandfather Byrdes death. I have delivered it unto him for the which my will is that he should deliver my brother Dowle an acquittance." Here is evidence that while the nuncupative will was probably the basis of the settlement it was not final, as there is no mention there of a bequest to Myles Jackson, jr.

The gift of five hundred and thirty pounds diverted to "the hospital" from the number of smaller charities mentioned in the Mayor's written will was paid before his death and evidently before he wrote the latter part of his will in 1590. After this date he values his estate at seven thousand pounds. If all of the bequests mentioned in the nuncupative will were paid, and adding the extra hundred pounds to Myles Jackson, jr., we find a total of less than £2500 in specific bequests, leaving a residue of £4500 as the portion of William Bird, jr., his sole executor, who appears to have been the "young Octavius" of the situation.

Mayor Bird died in October 1590. On or after 1st June 1590 he bequeathed £300 to Anne Sachfeilde, £100 to her son William and £200 to each of her daughters Anne and Marie, making a total of £800. If, as appears likely, the alleged nuncupative will was made the basis of the "arbitrament" all that the Sachfeildes actually received was £200, one quarter of the amount bequeathed to them; Anne Sachfeilde, sr., being entirely left out of consideration. While it is possible that the Mayor may have made provision for her by gift before his death there are a number of indications in the alleged nuncupative will pointing to a deliberate intention on the part of William Bird, jr., and the tacit collusion and acquiescence of at least two of the other beneficiaries to disinherit her and to reduce the portions of her children,

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It is very significant that the first two bequests made in the nuncupative will, *i.e.* to his wife Anne Bird and to the Sachfeilde children, should be specified in marks, while all of the remainder of the bequests are in pounds, and that in the case of the Mayor's wife the marks mentioned total within thirty-three pounds of the £700 bequeathed to her in the written will, while in the case of the Sachfeilde children they total only two-fifths of the written bequests, Anne Sachfeilde's £300 being also entirely eliminated. It is still more significant that William Lavington and his son, who are not named as beneficiaries in the written will except inclusively among the natural children as partakers in the "sobers," are given £400 in the nuncupative will, and that Richard Smyth and his daughter, who were also to have been partakers in the sobers, are given their original bequests, and Richard Smyth forgiven his debts, which, according to the original will, were to have been repaid to the estate. It appears altogether unlikely that Mayor Bird in a verbal will should have entirely forgotten or purposely eliminated Anne Sachfeilde, sr., when he had so frequently and so recently in the written will shown such evident anxiety regarding the faithful payment of her portion, and very improbable that he should have named William Bird, jr., as sole executor, while in the written will two or more executors as well as overseers are named upon three different occasions.

It then appears probable that William Lavington was induced to accept £400 and Richard Smyth the cancellation of his debts in lieu of their share of the "sobers," leaving Anne Sachfeilde and her children unaided to contest for this clause in the Mayor's will, which, considering the then state of English law and the social and financial power of their opponents, would no doubt have been a hopeless undertaking.

The only one of the beneficiaries of the Mayor's will who appears to have had any qualms of conscience regard-

ing the treatment of the Sachfeildes was his son-in-law, Miles Jackson, who from several significant expressions in his own will and from the fact that his children by his first wife—Marie Bird—are not remembered in the will of their grandmother Bird—who remembers even her great-grandchildren by her other children—I infer was neither sympathetic with, nor privy to, the nullification of the Mayor's written will in which he had been thrice named as an executor.

A consideration of Miles Jackson's own will shows him to have been a capable man of business and suggests in him a sterling character. Mayor Bird refers to him always more respectfully than he does to his own sons or any one else mentioned in his will, and appears to have held him in high esteem; to no one else does he refer as "my well beloved in Christ." Reading between the lines we find a tacit disapproval of the voiding of the Mayor's will, and in the expression he uses, "in some sorte allowed," a critical attitude towards the arbitrament. In his bequests to "my sister Hatton" he displays a sense of responsibility apparently quite lacking in the other beneficiaries, whose actions he seems, by reflection, to censure in his injunction to his heirs regarding the faithful fulfilment of this clause in his will, "which I charge them both as they will answer it before God trulie to perform unto her," by paraphrasing a similar injunction of Mayor Bird's to his executors regarding his bequests to his natural children, "charging them and every of them to agree like brethren and faithful friends in trust charging them to deal with my goods in truth faithfully and truly even as you will answer at the tribunal seat of the most highest."

When Jackson made his will, however, all of Mayor Bird's legitimate children had been dead for many years, but his son-in-law, John Dowle, and possibly Richard Smyth and William Lavington were still living. It is evident, too, that Anne Sachfeilde, sr., her son William and

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her daughter Anne Davenant had all passed away at this date. Marie Sachfeilde was still living five years later, when she is again mentioned as "my sister Hatton" in the will of her brother-in-law, John Davenant of Oxford.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WILLIAM BIRD, MAYOR OF BRISTOL, AND HIS FAMILY

(P.C.C. 71 Drury)

1. WILL OF WILLIAM BIRDE, MAYOR OF BRISTOL

IN the name of God Amen And in the secunde daie of the moneth of Marche 1583 and in the 26th year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England Fraunce and Irelande, Queene Defender of the faith, etc. This is to witnes that I William Birde of the Cittie of Bristoll in the parish of St Nicholas the Bishopp wollen draper being wholle and of perfect memorie make this my last will and Testament in manner and form followinge. Firste I committ my speritt into the handes of thallmightie God my creator and redeemer whoe hath lente me the same here to use for a tyme, my bodie to the yearth to be used by the discretion of my overseers.

Item I give and bequeath to Edward Birde my eldest
nought/ sonne fyve hundred pounds in readie money to be put
downe by my Overseers either to delyver the said somme
unto him within two yeares after my naturall deathe or to
devise somme order to put the same somme to somme good
life/ and profitable use to paye unto the said Edward duringe
his naturall life tenne poundes in the hundred by the yeare
or otherwise at their good discrecion taking good and
he must
begge by
nature/ sufficient assurance for the trewe performance of this my
gift and meaninge otherwise I charge them uppon their
conscience as they will answeere before the Tribunall Seate
of God.

(The above paragraph or "staff" is cancelled. Then

follows :) Altered this staffe in all points the second day of Februarie 1587 WILLIAM BIRDE.

The
house I
now
dwell in | Item I give to William Bird my youngest sonne eight
More, one
greate
cheste in
the gallery
and one in
the newe
chamber
the best | hundred pounds in ready money to be delyvered unto him
either at the day of his marriage or at the age of xxiiij
yeares. Item more I give all the yeares to come in one
lease which I hold from St Warburge church in Bristoll or
any other righte or title which I holde or ought to have
in right with all the chestes in the shopp and warehouse
and stayned clothes and all the drapery work above staires
with table bordes stooles and chaires Reserving alwaies
to my wife anything given to her by this my will or other-
wise howsoever. Further I will that his saide stocke be
800*l*/ put to some good use at eight pounds in the hundred and
not above with good assurance for his maintenance.

to her/ | Item I give and bequeath unto Anne Bird my youngest
daughter six hundred pounds in readie money to be de-
lyvered at the day of her marriage or at the age of twenty
yeares And the said somme to be put out at the good
discretion of my Overseers towards her good maintenance
and bringing upp at tenne pounds the hundred or viij
poundes in the hundred according as they thinke best and
convenient Allwaies foreseeing that they take such good
600*l*/ assurance that the said portion may be holden for certain
according to my trust committed.

He is all
paied and
lost long
sithence | Item I give and bequeath to William Sachfeilde mercer
and to Anne his wife 300*l* in readie money to be delyvered
unto them within two yeares next after my buriall if the
said Anne lyve so longe and if not then I give (This is
cancelled, but continues :) the said William one hundred
poundes only and no more to be delyvered Item more
To Anne
150*l* and
to Mary
150*l* saied
Sachfeildes
two
daughters | I give to his two daughters Anne and Marie to either of
them one hundred poundes currant money of England to
be delyvered to their father within two yeares next after
my buriall or naturall death Provided allwayes that their
said father shall put in good and sufficient assurance for

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500£/ trewe payment as shal be thought good to the rest of my
Buriall/ said Overseers as they will answeare before the Tribunall
Seate of God.

500£/ Item I give to Richard Smyth draper one hundred
Buriall/ poundes currant money of England to be paid unto him
within one yeare next after my buriall. Item more I
My will is give unto Elizabeth Smyth his natural daughter a hundred
that he poundes currant money of England to be delyvered her
paie all said father within two yeares next after my buriall putting
such mon- in good and sufficient assurance for the trewe payment of
ies which the said somme to the said Elizabeth either at the daye
he oweth of her marriage or at thage of eighteene yeares yeelding
me as by and payinge to the use of his said daughter fower poundes
booke and by the yeare towards th encrease of her said stocke. Item
bonde may I give and bequeath to Miles Jackson and to my daughter
appeare Marie his wife three hundred poundes of currant money
200 of England if the said Mary my daughter lyve so longe if
not then I give the said Miles one hundred poundes and no
more to be delyvered either the greater somme or the
lesser within two yeares next after my buriall I meane over
Instant/ and above his marryage money at this Instant not paid
which is full three hundred poundes in money.

Not Item I give and bequeath to Anne Bird now my wife
worthie seaven hundred poundes in readie money to be paied unto
by desert her in three yeares by equall porcions by my overseers
I say three yeares next after my buriall. Item more I
give unto her so longe as shee shall remaine widdow and
unmarried the howse which I now dwell in payinge the
Lords rentes which is three poundes tenne shillings by
the yeare with the use of all the whole ymplementes given
to my sonne William Birde putting in good and sufficient
assuraunce to leave all things given unto him in as good
forme and order as they are or shalbe at the daie of de-
lyvering them into her power and keepinge. Item more
I give unto her thone halfe of all my householde stuffe
being valued and pryzed and not allready geven my whole

to enjoy/ plate only excepted which I will to be prized with the rest of my stuffe and so to be put in generall accompt of my debte and wares And if she marry then the same to come and to be thuse of my said sonne William presently And if my said wife happen to enjoy my said howse then I will that she shall be charged with the reparacion.

1587 Item nowe my will is changed in this pointe in all things that my said wife shall have and enioye my said howse that I nowe dwell in for terme of her naturall life payinge the rente/ Item I give and bequeath to my brother John Birdes children late of London I say one sonne and one daughter to either of them tenne poundes apiece to be delyvered within one yeare next after my buriall with two mourninge garmentes of good black And if it happen any one of them to die and departe this mortall life then the whole to remaine and be to the survivor And 20s/ if they happen both to departe then I will their portions to be given to the poore by the good direction of myne Overseers.

Item I give to my cozen John Bird at the pall in Huntley in readie monie twenty poundes to be paid him within one yeare next after my buriall Item more I give to his two daughters towards their marriage twentie poundes to be delyvered unto them within fower yeares next after my buriall And if any one of them die the whole to the survivor And if they happen both to departe then I give the whole 40s/ to their father and to his use. I will that their father make them an assurance for payment.

Naught.

To William and Marie 300s/ Item I give William Birde his brother and Marie Birde their sister tenne poundes to either of them to be paid within one yeare next after my buriall And if it happen any one of them to die or their portion be receaved then I will that the survivor shall have and enioye the whole.

Item I give to the poore people in Huntley twenty poundes to be paid to them in fower yeares, viz. five and

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206/ twenty shillings the quarter And I will that my Overseers shall make a good assurance to William Fowle and to my cozen Jn Birde of the said somme And that my Overseers direct some good course for the distributing of my gift charginge them to use all things to the use of the poorest sorte and not partially.

Item I give to be employed upon the highe waies between Huntley and Glouc^e twenty poundes which I will be delivered to William fflowle and my cozen John Birde of the pale to be bestowed by them upon the said high-waies within two yeares next after my buriall and I will that my overseers make payment of the said twenty poundes within one yeare and half next after my buriall and if they do not employ the same according to my meaninge then I will that my Overseers employ the same to their owne good discretion where they seeme best.

Item I give to the poore people of the towne of Newent in the countie of Glous. I say the towne only and not the parish tenne poundes warrant money to be delivered to my cozen John Birde of le pale within two yeares next after my death and he to deliver the same to two trusty persons of the foresaid towne to give and deliver the same to the most needy persons in the same within two yeares next after the receipt thereof by xxv^s the quarter. 1587.

Post
script^u/ my will then I give to Anne Sachfeilde widdowe three hundred poundes in readie money with all her household stuffe now in her possession and to William her son one hundred pounds.

I make sole executors of this my testament and last will Myles Jackson gent and my sonne William Bird charginge them to deal trewly and faithfully in all things herein comprised The first of June 1590. WILLIAM BIRD draper.

Item I give and bequeath to the poore people of the almshouse in Longe Rewe in the parish of St Thomas in

Bristoll one hundred poundes in warrant money to be put out by my Overseers at eight poundes in the hundred and so to pay them forty shillings the quarter until such time as some purchase may be made by the good discretion of Mr Maior the Aldermen and common townsfolk Also I will that the said gifte shall beegyn at the end of two yeares next after my buriall and not before. Let good assurance be had.

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

Item I give to the poore people of Tuckers Hall in Bristoll x^l to be paid in fyve yeares by x^s the quarter and to begyn the next quarter after my buriall Item I give to the poore people of the Weavers hall Bristoll tenne poundes to be paid to them in forme aforesaid.

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

All this I have disposed to the hospitall 1590. Item I give to the poore people in the Almes House without Temple Gate tenn poundes warrant money to be paid unto them in forme aforesaid.

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

Item I give to the poore people of Temple parish St Thomas parish and Redcliffe parish thirtie poundes warrant money to be payed them by my overseers in three years next after my buriall by equall portions.

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

All this I have altered to the hospitall 1590. Item I give to the poore people of this side the bridge thirty poundes warrant money to be paid unto them in three yeares by my overseers by the good discretion of them by equall portions Item I give to the poore prisoners of Newgate tenne poundes warrant money to be paid to them by my Overseers two shillings a week until the whole somme be paid and satisfied accordinge to my will.

30^l to
the hos-
pitall

ro^l to
the hos-
pitall

All this above written I give and bequeath to the hospitall 1590.

Item more I give to the marriage of poore maids wanting friends ffortie poundes warrant money to be paid unto them by my overseers by twenty shillings apeece or tenne shillings at their good discretion.

40^l in
Bristoll
to the
hospitall

All this I have and do alter to the hospitall 1590. Item

30*l* to
the hos-
pitall

I give to the repairinge of the highe waye in the marshe between Bristoll and Aushe xxx*l* to be paied by my said overseers in three yeares next coming so that the somme be employed to the saide worke within the time by me put downe otherwise to be and remaine to be employed with surplusses of my goods not as bequeathed or given.

20*l* to
the hos-
pitall

Item more I give to the repairinge of the heighe wayes neare about Bristoll twenty poundes to be paied in two yeares next after my buriall and to be employed by the discretion of Mr Maior and his brethren with the consent of my overseers.

Readie
monie
40 . 20*l*

All this whole side altered to the benefit of the hospitall.

Item I give and bequeath to be ymployed at my buriall one hundred poundes that is to say uppon poore men and poore women in equall number to the men gownes of good black ffryce showes shirtes and cappes and to the women gownes of like goodness showes smockes and kerchiffes of dowles. Lett all things be good.

100*l*
Added
this
staffe
the xxv
day of
marche
1589

I will that it shall be employed uppon the most needie sorte of people and that good care be taken therein. Whatsoever I have herein written I doe nowe ordaine and make my full and whole executors of this my last will and testament Miles Jackson and my sonne William Birde And for my overseers Richard Smyth Tanner and William Lavington meaninge that they shall not alter anythinge herein nor enioye more than to them is given but that all the suberbes be devided.

100*l*/

Item I give and bequeath to be ymployed in repairing the backe and the kaye or to any other good and profitable uses for the bewtifieinge of this Cittie in currant money one hundred poundes to be imployed by the good discretion of Mr Maior then being with the consent of the common Counsell and with the consent of my Overseers whome I charge to make payment of the said somme within three yeares next after my buriall.

I have ymployed this to the hospitall. 1590.

Item more I give to the repairinge of St Nicholas Church in Bristoll I saye to be ymployed uppon the roofo of the same church by my advice of such good perishioners that bear good myndes with the consent of my said Overseers whom I charge to paie and deliver the full somme of ffortie poundes currant money within three yeares next after my buryall uppon condition that the rest of the parishe beare the overplus of charges for castinge and coveringe the whole roofo of the same church which is now in verie much decay And if it happen that the said worke be not finished within fower yeares next after my buriall then the same fforty poundes shalbe to the use of the rest of my goodes as yet not bequeathed. (This paragraph cancelled.)

I have ymployed this to the hospital 1590.

Item I make and constitute for the true performance of this my last will and testament unlesse any thinge shall by me hereafter be altered or chaunged my wellbeloved in Christ Miles Jackson gent and William Birde my sonne and Richard Smith draper overseers givinge and graunting to my said Overseers and to every of them jointly full power and authoritie to do and performe all thinges given and bequeathed by me before in this will specified charginge them to agree like Brethren and faithfull friendes in trust charging them and every of them to deale with my goodes in truth faithfully and truly even as you will answeare before the tribunall seate of the most heighest. Item further I charge them when my whole goodes wares and debts shalbe laied downe and valued beinge faithfully used my Legacies and gifts beinge all performed and paid accordinge to my meaninge then my will is that such money wares and debtes and goodes whatsoever then remaininge which I trust wilbe above two thousand poundes if their fall out the losses of fyve or six hundred poundes over and besides sundry parcells by me made desperate beinge more or lesse howe ever God shall assigne the same I will and

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commande you and every of you to be faithfull to my fyve
 naturall children to whom I give and bequeath all such
 sobers of my goodes not given neither bequeath(ed) to
 them and every one of them to be equally devided by
 even portions Provided allwayes that if my goodes rise in
 sobers anie thing like my puttinge downe which is I value
 myselfe worth seaven thousand poundes I give thankes
 to the Almighty Then my will and meaninge is that my
 frowarde wife shalbe by you three somethinge more con-
 sidered even by your owne discretion And also then I will
 that Richard Smythes daughter have for her portion full
 a peece/ two hundred poundes and William Sachfeildes two daughters
 the like somme And if it happen anie of my three children
 unmarried to departe this mortall life then I will that the
 enjoy/ survivors or survivor shall enioye and have the whole
 betweene them. In wittnes this to be truthe I have
 written this with my owne hand and put to my firme and
 seale the daye and yeare above written. And I will the
 same to remayne in full force unlesse it be by me altered./
 per me WILLIAM BIRD Draper.

Proved 16 Oct 1590 by the proctor of Miles Jackson,
 power being reserved to William Bird.

(NUNCUPATIVE WILL OF WILLIAM BIRD :)

In the name of god Amen M^d. that William Birde of
 the Cittie of Bristoll draper beinge in perfect mynde and
 memory the eight day of October in the yeare of our Lord
 God one thousand fyve hundred nynety did make his last
 will and testament nuncupative in manner and forme
 followinge. Imprimis he gave and bequeathed to Anne
 Birde his wife one thousand markes with the house and
 furniture wherein she dwelte puttinge in sufficient sureties
 to leave them to William Birde his Sonne. Item he gave
 unto every one of Sachfeildes children one hundred markes
 apeece Item he gave to his daughter Anne Birde fyve

hundred poundes Item he gave to Miles Jacksons sonne William Jackson and to William Lavington the sonne of William Lavington one hundred poundes apeece Item he gave unto Richard Smythe one hundred poundes and to his daughter one hundred poundes and he forgave the said Richard Smith all that he ought him Item he gave to Miles Jackson three hundred poundes Item he gave to William Lavington three hundred poundes Item he gave all his plate to be devidid amongst all his children Item he ordained constituted and made William Bird his sole executor.

(In margin) Confirmed by sentence diffinitive published 2nd of St John 1591. (Translated from the Latin.)

Proved 31 Oct 1590 by the proctor of William Birde executor, etc.

2. WILL OF EDWARD BYRDE OF BRISTOL, SON OF WILLIAM BIRDE, MAYOR OF BRISTOL

IN the name of God Amen, I Edward Birde of the Cittie of Bristoll, Gentleman, beinge of perfectt mynde and memory thanks be to the Almightye, do make this my laste will and testament in manner and forme followinge First I bequeath my soule into the hands of the Almightye my Saviour and Redeemer, and my bodye to the earth to be buried by the discretion of my overseers. Item I give unto Anne Birde my wife two hundred poundes of lawfull English money to be paid her within three months next after my buriall. Item I give and bequeath unto Anne Bird my eldest daughter one hundred and fifty poundes of lawfull English money, and unto Margery my seconde daughter the some of one hundred and fiftye poundes of like currante Englishe moneys to be paid them att ye daies of their marriages or att the adge of one and twenty yeares which first shall happen. And further my will is that this saied somme of three hundred poundes shall be putt out at tenne in the hundreth, takinge goode

securities for the same by my overseers which some I make of this my laste will and testam'. And the said overseers shall give unto my wife for the bringinge up of them in the feare of God Twentye poundes of currant English moneyes yearly to be paied her by my overseers. The residue of the intereste of their share equally And if itt shall happen that either of my saied children do depart this transitorye life before the accomplishment of their daies of marradge or the adge of one and twenty yeares, that then my will is the longest liver to enjoye the whole somme of Three hundred poundes. *Item* I make of this my laste will and testament unles it be by me hereafter altered. Anne Bird my wife my full and whole executrix And my overseers of this my laste will and testament Myles Jackson John Dowle Richard Smyth William Lavington and William Birde of Bristoll gentlemen given the 24th of September 1596. An inventory of all and singular the goods rights and creditts of Edward Bird gentleman late of the citye of Bristoll deceased priced by Sammell Willett of Bristoll merchant and Leonard Vizard of the same Wollen Draper the daie of November 1596.

3. WILL OF WILLIAM BYRDE, GENT., BRISTOL, 1597, SON OF WILLIAM BIRDE, MAYOR OF BRISTOL

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Byrde of the City of Bristol, gent. do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following. First I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Creator, hoping that it shalbe saved through Jesus Christ that hath redeemed it. First I give my sonne William 200*£* to be paid when he shall come to the age of twenty and one years. *Item*, to my sonne Thomas 200*£* to be paid at the same time. *Item* to my sonne John the somme of 200*£* and to my daughter Anne 200*£*, all which portions to be paid to my sonnes when they shall come to the age of twenty one and to my daughter at the same time or at or within three

months (in the margin : " Item to my daughter Mary 200*l* ") after their marriage. To the child in my wife's belly 200*l* to be paid as aforesaid. Item my debts and legacies being paid I give all the residue of my goods and chattels to my wife Marie, whom I make my sole executrix to this my last will and testament.

WILLIAM BIRDE 1597.

4. WILL OF MYLES JACKSON, SON-IN-LAW OF WILLIAM BIRDE, MAYOR OF BRISTOLL

IN the name, etc. I Myles Jackson of Combhay in the countie of Somerset gent although at this present in good and perfect health and remembrance prayse now and evermore be too the giver thereof yet duly waienge the frailtie and incertaintie of this present life doe for the better setting in order of all such wordlie goodes and temporall blessings which it hath pleased the Almightye of his grete goodness and mercie to bestowe uppon me make this my last will and testament for the disposinge of them in manner and forme followinge First I commend my soule which God of his greate mercie and goodness hath here but lent me for a tyme to remayne in my mortall boddie into his mercifull handes being my Creator and to Jesus Christ his only sonne and my only Saviour and Redeemer and to the Holy Ghost my only sanctifier and preserver three in one Trinity but one only and ever living God in essence and unytie to whom be all praise and thanks givinge now and forever declaringe hereby my faith wherein I stedfastlie and confidentlie believe and dye in : by the only death merittes and passion of his deare sonne Jesus Christ my onlie Saviour and Redeemer to have full and free remissions of my synns renouncinge from the bottome of my harte all other meanes and merittes whatsoever either in heaven above or in the earth beneath my body to the earth from whence it was taken to be buried in decent manner in the church of Combhay nere unto my mother

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And touchinge all suche wordlie goodes as it hath pleased God of his goodness to bless me withall my will and meaninge is to imploye and bestowe them in manner following I give to Elynor my wife in satisfaction and recompense of the vth I am bound to leave her at my death the whole use occupation and benefitt of all those messuages landes and tenements whatsoever beinge in Barton Regis in the Countie of Glocester which I lately purchased agayne of Thomas Chester Esquire for fourscore and nyneteene yeres (if the said Elinor Josephe and Phillipp Jackson hers and my sonnes or any of them should happen so longe to lyve) for the terme of the said yeres (if the said Elinor shall happen so long to lyve) And likewise the whole use benefitt and commoditie whatsoever duringe her naturall life of two other Rooflesse grounde in Barton Regis aforesaid nowe in the tenure or occupation of Mr Blunt or his assignes which I lately bought of Phillipp Langley Esquire for the terme of hir life and thabove saide Josephe and Phillipp oure children as by the severall leases of them more at large may appeare and after hir decease I give thaforesaid landes and tenements to my said two sonnes Joseph and Phillipp to houlde jointlie betwixt them duringe their natural lives and the life of the longest liver of them But if my wife shall refuse to accept hereof in recompence of her said vth then my will is that this my guifte both to her and likewise after hir to my two sonnes Josephe and Phillipp shalbe voide and the same to be sould to answeere and paye unto hir the said somme of vth Item I give to Elinor my wife the use and occupation of my house upon the Backe of Bristoll wherein I dwelt with all the implements of household that shalbe therein at the tyme of my decease (my plate excepted) duringe hir naturall life And after hir decease I give my whole interest which I have in the said house with all the firniture and implements of household which shalbe therein at the tyme of my decease (plate and lynnyn excepted)

unto my sonne Mylis Jackson his executors and assignes and for the true injoyinge thereof accordinge to this my will my desire and meaninge is that Elinor my wife within three monthes next after my decease shall cause an Inventorie to be made of all the said goodes and to enter into bond of cc^{li} as well to preserve the said lease from forfeiture any waies as also for the true deliverie of all such goodes therein to my sonne Mylis his executors and assignes at the tyme of hir decease or the value of them as they shalbe praysed in case it shall happen any of them to be decayed or lost Item I give unto Elinor my wife the use and occupation of both my gardins in Bristoll thone being in Templestreete which is my inheritance to me and to my heires for ever payinge 11^s yearlie as a free rent to the heires of Mr Okevor late of London deceased Thother beinge in the name of Mr Langtons 3 daughters which he hath assured over unto me at the yearlie rent of xxix^s or thereabouts quarterlie as by the lease doth appeare Also for the better inablinge of my said wife Elinor for the performance of my will in all such legacies and guiftes as herein I have bequeathed and given I give unto hir the whole use and benefit of my farme of Combhay for one whole yeare next after my decease with all the use of the implements of household that shalbe therein at the tyme of my death and not by this my will disposed to any other and my will also is that she shall quietly receive and take all such corn as she shall sowe in the said yeare with the use of the Barnes and loftes to laye her corne in untill such tyme as conveniently she may sell and dispose thereof Out of the profitts whereof my will is she pay unto my sonne William Jackson for that yeare the somme of xxx^{li} towards his maintenance by four equall portions quarterlie and to my sister Hatton the somme of fortie shillings half yearlie with the rent and all other duties out thereof And after the said yeare ended I give all my right and interest in the said farme with all the implements of house-

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hold and all things els both within and without of what sort and condicion soever (my plate lynn cattell of all sortes corne wool and haye excepted) which were there at the tyme of my decease unto my said sonne William Jackson to have and enjoye to him his executors and assignes in as ample manner to all intents and purposes as I enjoyed the same at the tyme of my decease Item I give unto my sonne William Jackson all my estate right title and interest which I have in the mannor of Horfield in the Countie of Glouc. uppon condicion that alwaies hereafter doe ratifie confirm and allowe of all such my grantes either by lease or coppie heretofore by me made of any parte of the said mannor which if at any tyme he shall go about to frustrate and make voide then from thensforth my interest soe to him given to be voide and his brother Mylis to enter and enjoye the same and if he likewise shall not performe my meaning herein accordingelie then to remayne to his next brother, and his interest therein to determyne and so to the next brother in yeares soe longe as the least indureth Item I give unto my sonne William Jackson all my estate interest and terme of years which I purchased of Thomas Cooper of Melburie Osmunde in the Countie of Dorset for the terme of xix yeres yet induringe beinge certaine lands in Lufton by Wyncanton in the Countie of Somerset which I demised againe unto him for all the saide yeres at the yerelie rent of xx^{li} payable ons a yeare at the feast of All Sc^{tes} for the which I have both a lease and a bond that it shall continue at the yerelie rent of xx^{li} as aforesaid Also I give unto him my signett of gould wherein are ingraven the Armes of our name. Also my will is that my wife Elinor shall paye unto my sonne William the somme of one hundred poundes in satisfaction unto him for so much receaved for him of his grandfather Byrdes guifte not by will which was overthrowen and voide but yelded unto by Arbitrement and soe in some sorte allowed unto me Provided allwayes that he deliver unto my brother Dowle

an acquittance acknowledging the resceite thereof as his grandfathers guifte Item I give unto my sonne Mylis Jackson the somme of one hundreth poundes of good and lawfull money of England To be paid unto him within 3 monthes next after my decease and for the cⁿ which was given unto him by an awarde after his grandfather Byrds deathe I have delivered it unto him for the which my will is he should deliver my brother Dowle an acqittance Item I give unto my sonne Mylis Jackson all my estate right title and terme of yeares which I have by two severall leases of divers groundes called Kingswood lyinge in the parishes of Yatton and Congresberrie whereof the one I hold of my lady Stallinge for divers yeares yet induringe the other from the Governors of the Hospitall in Bristoll as by the severall leases more at large appeareth. Also I purchased unto him the Reversion of Rownam Passage after my wives wydoes estate therein ended which shee must hold by custome of the Mannor of Bloxwoode houlder of Mr Phillipp Langley. Item I give unto my said sonne Mylis Jackson and to his heires forever my gardyn in Templestreete after the decease of Elinor my wife and likewise after hir decease my whole right titell and interest of my gardin in Backstreete. Item I give unto my sonne Thomas Jackson the somme of two hundreth poundes of good and lawfull money of England To be paide unto him within 3 monthes next after my decease whereof thone cⁿ is nowe in the handes of his master John Tomlynson which I have his bond for which my will is should be delivered to my sonne Thomas to receave of his Master and thother cⁿ to be paid unto him as aforesaid by Elinor my wife Item I give unto my said sonne Thomas Jackson all my estate titell and interest which I have in 2 small Tenements next to the Custome Howse uppon the backe of Bristoll which I hould of the graunte of Anthony Prewett for the terme of nyntie nyne yeres if he the said Thomas Jackson Joane Davison my wyves daughter and John

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Jackson my youngest sonne or any of them happen so longe to live at the yerelie rent of fortie shillinges half yerelie as by the lease thereof dothe appere. Item I graunted unto my sonne Thomas Jackson a coppie in Revercion of Walkers Tenement in Horfield which is nowe fallen in hand and he to injoye after my decease I havinge reserved the same to myselfe duringe my life And my will is that if my sonne Thomas doe marrie and have issue male that then his brother William shall graunte the Revercion thereof to his first issue male of his bodie lawfullie begotten Item I give unto Richard Jackson my sonne the somme of two hundreth poundes to be paid unto him at his age of two and twentie yeares and my desire is that havinge nowe bredd him beyonnde the seas for a yeare and more that uppon his retorne to be made a yeare hence he be placed at London with some merchant or other fitt and good trade as shall best like him and so much of his stocke to be put out with him as shalbe thought fitt for the obtayninge thereof the same to be lent only duringe his yere of apprentishipp and then to be repaide him againe for the better settinge upp of his trade in the end of his yeres and if he shall happen to dye before his said age of xxii yeares then his porcion to goe to all his brothers survivinge (thelder excepted) I have also graunted unto my sonne Richard the Revercion of John Edwardes Tenement in Horfield whensoever it shall happen Item I give unto my three sonnes which I had by Elinor my wife Josephe Phillipp and John to every of them the somme of Two Hundreth poundes a peece To be paid unto them at there severall ages of xxii yeres a peece and if any of them happen to dye before he shall accomplish the said age Then the parte and porcion of him or them so dyeinge to remayne to thother Brothers survivinge (except the eldest) And to John my youngest sonne I have graunted by Coppie the Revercion of William Dymockes tenement for terme of his life whensoever it shall happen And more I give to my sonne Josephe the

lease of Richard Boswelles House whereof I hould the one halfe for certain yeres yet induringe jointlie with Mr Marloe's wife And after hir decease the whole. Item I give unto my two daughters Elizabeth and Ann Jackson to eche of them the somme of fower hundreth poundes a peece To be paid unto them at there severall ages of xviii yeares or the daye of there marriages which first shall happen. And if either of them dye before then hir porcion to remayne to hir sister survivinge And if they bothe dye Then to all her brothers survivinge (the eldest excepted) to be equallie devided betweene them, And untill they shall accomlishe there saide age of xviii yeres or the daye of there marriage my will and desire is that my wife Elinor shall have the education of them and to enjoye there portions untill that tyme for there better maintenance and bringinge upp vertuouslye I give to my grandchild Elizabeth Jackson one of my guilt standinge boules with a cover thereto belonginge Item I give to the poore to be distributed at the day of my funerall the somme of five poundes in this manner v markes in grotes to men and women a grote a peece and five nobles in 2^d a peece to children And my will is likewise that the men and women shall severallie have likewise a good pennye loofe of wheten breade and a cupp of bere withall to drincke. I give also to the poore people of Bristoll the somme of v^{li} to be distributed amongst them as Mr Langton one of my overseers shall see cause within the said cittie. Also I give to the poore prisoners of Newgate there the somme of xx^s Item I give to the poore people of Combhay to be given where most neede is the somme of fortie shillings. Item I give unto my sister Hatton fortie shillings a yere duringe hir life to be payde out of the farme of Combhay the first yeare by Elinor my wife and after by my sonne William which I chardge them both as they will awnswere it before God trulie to performe unto hir Item more I give unto hir the somme of Tenn poundes to be paid unto hir within 3 monthes next

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after my decease Item I give unto my cozen Margaret Jones the nowe wife of Morgan Jones Clarke the somme of Tenn poundes and to him () a ringe of gould of the value of a Jacobin within this Posie to be written Remember me in mine Item I give to my cozen Joane hir sister the somme of v^{li} Item I give to all these my friends following Mr Wm Clapton gent Mr William Vawer Mr Samuell Davys Mr William Pittes and his wife of the Backe Mrs Alice Langton Mr John Coxe and his wife to eche of them A Jacobin to make them a ringe of which the posie written in everie of them as abovesaide Item I give to John Shorte the somme of five markes and to Dorothe the like somme and to the rest of my servantes that have byn dwellinge with me a yere at the tyme of my death xx^s a peece over and above there wages Item I give to my sister Anna Palmer dwellinge in Lonthe in Lincolnshire a Jacobin to be made in Ringe and sent hir with the posie aforesaid therein written Item I give to my cozen Mylis Jackson a Ringe of like value to be sente unto him as a remembrance of my love unto him And nowe lastlie of this my will and testament for the true performance thereof accordinge to my confidence and truste I wholie put in hir I doe nominate and appointe my loving wife Elinor my sole and whole executrix and my good and loving friendes Joseph Rattell Esquire and John Langton merchant my overseers to whom as a small remembrance of my love towardses them for their paynes counsell and direction to be taken on hir behalf I give to eche of them a peece of plate guilte of the price of v^{li} and to my good and lovinge friende M^{rs} Marye Rattle a Ringe of gould as to my other friendes to were for my sake as a remembrance In witnes whereof I have to this my will and last testament renouncinge all other heretofore made setto my hand and seale this xvth daye of October in the 14th yere of the Kinges Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the fifthe in the presence of those

whose names are under written Mylis Jackson Alexander Agasman John Harnard Robert Pevice Anthony Bassett John Bleachlye.

Proved 15 Feb 1616 by Elinor Jackson the executrix named in the will.

5. WILL OF ANNE BIRD, WIDOW OF WILLIAM
BIRDE, MAYOR OF BRISTOL

The xxvith Marche 1617

SHE geveth to Wm Birde her grandchild xl $\frac{1}{2}$ To Thomas Bird her grandchild x $\frac{1}{2}$ To Joⁿ Birde her grandchild xx $\frac{1}{2}$ To Fraunces Birde her grandchild x $\frac{1}{2}$ To her grandchild Elizabeth Jones xl $\frac{1}{2}$ To Marye Birde her grandchild the daughter of William Birde deceased x $\frac{1}{2}$ To Joⁿ Dowle the younger her grandchild x $\frac{1}{2}$ To Anne Gibbes and Margerye Birde daughters of Edward Bird deceased her grandchildren $\text{£}xx$ theire mother Anne Vizarde to have the use of the said xx $\frac{1}{2}$ duringe her lief gevinge sufficient securitie for the payment therof after her death to her said children To Anne Ham Wief of Joⁿ Ham gent her grandchild for a ringe for her xl^s To Marye Gaye wiefe of Thomas Gaye one other of her grandchildren x $\frac{1}{2}$ to be delievered unto her from time to time at the discrecion of her Executor x $\frac{1}{2}$ To Elizabeth Gaye daughter of the said Mary v $\frac{1}{2}$ to be paid at her full age or mariage which shall first happen v $\frac{1}{2}$ Item shee ordreth and willeth that her executor shall paye these legacies abovesaid within sixe monethes after her decease And she the said Anne Birde doth ordaine and make her sonne in lawe Joⁿ Dowle of Bristoll gent her Executor of this her Will in truste reposite in him.

Signed ANNE BIRD.

Witnesses to this John Goodman clerk John Ham Samwell Willis.

Proved 22 May 1617 by John Dowle the ex^{or}.

I V

JOHN DAVENANT OF OXFORD AND THE HOUGHS

WE learn by John Davenant's will, proved on 16th October 1622, that at the time it was written he was conducting his tavern under a sublease—which had still about ten years to run—from Daniel Hough, third son of William Hough, senior, who thirty years before, with his eldest son, William Hough, junior, took out forty-year leases on this property and upon the adjoining Crosse Inn. This gives inferential evidence that Davenant's sublease dates from the same period, and that it was terminable with the original lease. There is a possibility that Davenant also subleased the Crosse Inn at this time. I say a possibility, for though it is possible that Davenant conducted both the Inn and the Tavern from 1592 to 1596, it appears by Pierce Underhill's will that he and his wife were conducting it at the time of his death in 1604, yet Underhill's licence to sell wine and keep an inn issued in 1596 may indicate the beginning of his occupancy of the Crosse Inn. It is more likely, however, that it was at this date that Underhill secured possession of the original lease of the Crosse Inn from his sister Joan's second husband, John Stanton of London, and that her departure for London—she, as William Hough's widow having held the previous licences both for the Inn and the Tavern—necessitated his securing new licences for both. It is more probable that Pierce Underhill began at the Crosse Inn in 1592—under a sublease and sublicence—at the same time that Davenant

undertook the conduct of the Tavern in the same manner, the original licences as well as leases of both being held by the Houghs.

In 1591 William Hough is described in the corporation records as "innholder," in 1592 he is described in the New College lease of the Crosse Inn as "furrier," and in 1593 he mentions himself in his will as "skinner." It appears evident that he retired from the conduct of the Crosse Inn in 1591-2, subleasing to his brother-in-law, Pierce Underhill, at that time. It is likely that Underhill had conducted the Tavern since 1574, when he left the little shop next door, later known as Royce's tenement. Some time after the death of William Hough, senior,—in 1593,—when his widow, Joan Hough, had married John Stanton of London, her brother, Pierce Underhill, secured the original lease of the Inn from Stanton, who, he states in his will, had received it from his wife. Yet that Davenant was, at least for a time, connected with a lease or sublease of the Crosse Inn appears evident from the fact that in a Christ Church lease of adjoining property, examined by Mr. Salter and dated December 1619, the property, is described as "abutting upon a stone wall belonging to the Crosse Inn now in the occupation of John Davenant, vintner." As Davenant died three years later and no mention of the Crosse Inn is made in his will it is evident that he was not conducting it at that time. It is probable that the explanation is that Davenant's occupancy of the Inn was temporary, and owing to the sickness and death, in this year, of Walter Payne, the evident previous holder of the Inn. Payne was the owner of the lease of the Tavern and Davenant's landlord from 1611 to 1619; he was also an innkeeper in St. Martin's parish, where he was buried on 23rd December 1619. He was Mayor of Oxford two years before, and is then described in the catalogue of Mayors and Bailiffs—quoted in Wood's *City of Oxford*—as innholder. As the businesses of the Crosse Inn and the

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Tavern were so closely affiliated it appears likely that Davenant became responsible for the conduct of the Inn during Payne's sickness, or at his death, until a suitable and, to him, congenial tenant could be found.

While I have found no documentary record of John Davenant between 1589, when he secured the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company in London, and 11th February 1601-2, when the birth of his daughter Jane is recorded in the register of St. Martin's parish, Oxford, the anagram of his name, already displayed, in conjunction with the name Hough in the prefatory verses to *Willobie his Avis*, which verses have been shown by Professor Bang of Louvain to be subscribed by Roydon's anagrammatised signature, gives evidence that Davenant was connected with the Houghs as early as 1593-4, when *Willobie his Avis* was written.

The inferential evidence in his will of a forty-year sublease conterminable with the forty-year lease on the Tavern, taken out by the Houghs in 1592, and the absence of any conflicting evidence after a careful search of all available records in London, Bristol and Oxford, when taken in conjunction with the cumulative literary and circumstantial evidence already advanced, I believe warrants the conclusion that Davenant entered into business relations with the Houghs and undertook the conduct of the Tavern in or about 1592.

Though the original lease of the Tavern changed hands from time to time—probably being hypothecated for loans, as was common with leases of business property at that time, Burbage's mortgaging of the lease of the Theatre to John Hyde, grocer of London, being a case in point—we find it back in the hands of the Houghs at the time of Davenant's death, and still in their hands with Davenant's widowed daughter, Jane Hallom, as sub-lessee in March 1643-4, when Daniel Hough died.

It is possible that Davenant became connected with

the Oxford Houghs through relatives of theirs in London. In the same parish in which I find the Davenants I find a large number of Houghs, and some of them described as "skinners," while in the Oxford records I find the name only once before the appearance of William and his brothers in Oxford, a Nicholas Howgh having been Sheriff of Oxford in 1463. That the London and Oxford Houghs were connected is further suggested by the marriage of Joan Hough to John Stanton of London, and after his death to John Fludde, who may have been the father of "John Floode apprentice to the scrivener," one of the witnesses to the will of John Davenant, the elder, of All Hallows parish, London, in which parish I find the Houghs so numerous.

The rear entrance to John Davenant's Tavern was through the Crosse innyard, a right-of-way which is still in existence. On the north side of the arched entrance to the innyard from Cornmarket Street and extending south above the entrance was originally the double-gabled front of the Crosse Inn; this street frontage is now occupied by shops, the Inn being reduced to the space surrounding the innyard. On the south side of the entrance, with a small shop intervening—occupied by Pierce Underhill before 1574—was the Tavern; the sign of the Crosse Inn on Cornmarket Street evidently hung above the arched entrance to the innyard. The Inn and the Tavern being in the hands of relatives from 1574 to 1592, and the innyard being common to both, the St. George's cross at the entrance was evidently regarded as the sign of both Inn and Tavern, this being the reason that the tavern had no more specific name than The Tavern.

Roydon describes Avisas as the hostess of a tavern and as serving wine to her customers. When he indicates her tavern as

. . . yonder howse, where hanges the badge
Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry
Victorious land, to conquering rage,
Loe, there my hopelesse helpe doth ly,

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it is evident that he regards the Crosse Inn sign as representing both the Inn and the Tavern ; yet in describing the Tavern garden and walled walk at the back he differentiates them :

Farewell that sweet and pleasant walke,
The wnesse of my faith and wo,
That oft hath heard our friendly talke,
And giv'n me leave my grieffe to show,
O pleasant path, where I could see
No crosse at all but onely thee.

P.C.C. 113 Savile

1. WILL OF JOHN DAVENANT (OF OXFORD), LATE MAYOR OF OXFORD

It has pleased God to afflict me these 4 monthes rather with a paine than a sickness which I acknowledge a gentle correction for my former sinnes in having soe a faire a time to repent my paines rather daily increasing then otherwise And for soe much as many wise men are suddenly overtaken by death by procrastinating of their matters concerning the settling of their estates I think it fitt (though mine be of noe great value) considering the many children I have and the mother dead which would guide them as well for the quietness of my owne minde when I shall depart this life, as to settle a future amity and love among them that there may be noe strife in the division of those blessings (which god hath lent me) to set downe my minde in the nature of my laste will and testament both for the disposing of the same and also how I would have them order themselves after my decease Till it shall please god to order and direct them to other courses First I committ my soule to Almighty God hopeinge by my Redeemer Christ Jesus to have remission of my sinnes my body I committ to the earth to be buryed in the parish of St Martin's in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give

leave where she lyeth For my funeralls and obsequies (if I dye in the yeare of my mayorlty) I desire should be in comely manner neither affecting pompe nor too much sparing leaving the same to my executors discretion whom I name to be as followeth hartily desiring these 5 following whom I name to be my Overseers to take paines not only in that but also in any other matter of advice to my children concerning the settling of their estates which five are these Alderman Harris Alderman Wright Mr John Bird Mr William Gryce Mr Thomas Davis Item I will that my debts be Paid by my executors which I owe either by bond bills or book which I have made within the compasse of this 2 yeares Item I give and bequeath unto my three daughters Elizabeth Jane and Alice two hundred pound apeece to be payed out of my estate within one yeare after my buriall Item I give to my four sonnes one hundred fifty pound apeece to be payed them within a yeare after my buriall Item I give to my son Nicholas my house at the White Beare in Dettford which is lett to Mr Haines Schoolemaster of Marchant tailers schoole Item I give to my sonne Robert my seale ring Item my will is that my household stuffe and plate be sold to the best value within the compasse of a yeare excepting such necessaryes as my executors and Overseers shall think fitt for the furnishing of my house to go towards the payment of my childrens portions Item my will is that my house shall be kept still as a Taverne and supplied with wines continually for the bringing up and entertainment of my children untill such time as Thomas Hallom my servant comes out of his yeares and the yearly profit thereof (necessary expence of Rent reparacion and housekeeping being deducted) to retorne at the time of his coming forth of his yeares to my seaven children in equal portions together with the stocke in the seller and debts or to the survivors if any happen to dye in the meanetime And that this may be the better effected according to my will

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and intent I will that my servant have the managing thereof duringe his apprentishipp and that he shall give a true account of his dealing unto my executors and Overseers 4 times in the yeare also that George be kept here still in the house till his yeares come forth at which time my will is that he be made free of the marchant tailers in London and have five pound given him when he comes out of his yeares and to the intent that this my devise of keeping my house as a Taverne for the better releefe of my children may take the better effect according to my meaning In consideration that my three daughters being maidens can hardly rule a thing of such consequence my will is that my sister Hatton if it stand with her good liking may come with her youngest sonne and lye and table at my house with my children till Thomas Hallom comes out of his yeares for the better comfort and countenancing of my 3 daughters and to have her said dyett free and five pound a yeare in money knowing her to have been alwaies to me and my wife loving just and kind Also my will is that two of my youngest daughters do keepe the barre by turnes and sett downe every night under her hande the dayes taking in the viewe of Thomas Hallom my servant and that this book be orderly kept for soe long time as they shall thus sustaine the house as a Taverne (that if need be) for avoyding of deceite and distruste there may be a calculation made of the receites and disbursementes Now if any of my daughters marry with the consent of my Overseers that her portion be presently payed her and shee that remaineth longest in the house either to have her porcion when Thomas Hallom comes out of his yeares or if he and she can fancy one another my will is that they marry together and her porcion to be divided by itself towards the maintenance of the trade and the one halfe of my two youngest sonnes stockes shalbe in his the said Thomas his handes payeing or allowing after twenty nobles p hundred giving my said 2 sonnes or my Overseers

security sufficient for the same to be paid at their coming to 21 yeares of age the other half to be putt forth for there best profit by the advise of my Overseers my will is also that my sonne William being now arrived at 16 yeares of age shall be put to prentice to some good merchant of London or other tradesman by the consent and advise of my overseers and that there be forty pound given with him to his master whereof 20^l out of my goodes and double apparrell and that this be done within the compasse of 3 monthes after my death for avoyding of Inconvenience in my house for mastership when I am gone My will is also concerning the remainder of the yeares in my lease of my house the Taverne that if Thomas and any of my daughters doe marry together that he and she shall enjoy the remainder of the yeares be it 5 or 6 more or lesse after he comes out of his yeares paying to my sonne Robert over and above the rent to Mr Huffe yearely soe much as they two shall agree uppon my Overseers beinge umpires betwixt them whereof the cheefest in this office I wish to be my friend Mr Grice provided alwayes my meaninge is that neither the gallery nor chambers or that floore nor Cockeloftes over nor kitchen nor Lorthor nor little sellar be any part of the thing devised but those remaine to the use of my sonne Robert if he should leave the universitie to entertaine his sisters if they should marry etc. yet both to have passage into the woodyard garden and house of office my will is also that my sonne Robert shall not make nor meddle with selling or trusting of wyne nor with any thing in the house but have entertanement as a brother for meals tydes and the like or to take Phisicke in sickness or if he should call for wine and the like with his friends and acquaintance that he presently pay for it or be sett downe uppon his name to answeere the same out of his part my meaninge being that the government shall consist in my 3 daughters and in my servant Thomas whom I have alwaies found faithfull unto me and to reward his vertue

the better and putt him into more encouragement I give him twenty pound to be paid him when he comes out of his yeares Alsoe my will is that my sonne Robert for his better allowance in the university have quarterly paid him fifty shillings and twenty shillings to buy him necessities out of the provenew of the profitt of wyne till Tho. comes out of his yeares besides the allowance of the interest of his stocke And in the meantime yf I dy before he goes out bachelor his reasonable apparrell and expences of that degree to be payed out of my goodes provided alwaies if it be done with the advise of Mr Tuer My will is that Nicholas be kept at schoole at Bourton till he be 15 yeares old and his board and apparrell to be paid for out of the profitt of selling of the wyne and for John my will is he be kept half an yeare at the schoole if my Overseers think good and his brothers and sisters and after put to prentice and have thirty pound given with him xⁱⁱ out of his owne stocke and twenty pound out of the profitt of selling of wyne Also my will is that within 24 houres after my funerall the wynes of all sorts and conditions be filled up and reckon how many tunnes of Gascoyne wyne there is which I would have rated at twenty five pound per tunne and how many Butts and pipes of sweet wynes there are which I would have rated at twenty pound per ceece (*sic*) both which drawne into a summe are to be sett downe in a book Alsoe the next day after a shedule of the debts which are owing me in the debt book the sperate by themselves and the desperate by themselves them alsoe sett downe the ordinary plate to drinke in the Taverne to be wayed and valued the bonds and billes in my study to be lookt over and sett downe In all which use the opinion of Mr Gryce accompt with any marchant that I deal with all betimes and aske my debtes with as much speede as may be Lastly take an Inventory of all the utensells in my house and let them be praysed in that use the advise of my Overseers and what money shalbe in Caishe more

then shall be needfull for the present to pay my debtes or buy Wyne with let it be putt forth to the best advantage.

Proved 21 Oct 1622 by Robert Davenett and Jane Hallom als Davenett seeing that no executor was named in the will

2. WILL OF WM. HOWGH OF OXFORD

IN the name of god Amen the xvth daye of October in the xxxvth year of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Ladye Quene Elizabethe that nowe is, etc, I William Howghe of the Citie of Oxforde Skynner beinge weake and sicke in bodye but of good and perfecte memory thanks be to allmyghtie god doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge, first I give and bequeath my soule to allmightie god my only maker and redemer in whom I truste hoping that he will accept in (*sic*) the number of those that shall be saved, Item I bequethe my bodye to the earthe to be buried in the Church of St Martins in Oxforde Item I gyve unto my brother Robert Howghe the lease of the howse wherein he nowe dwelleth in the bocherowe/ Item I gyve to my brother James Howghe tenne poundes in money to be payd or order taken for them/ Item I gyve to my sister Joanne gardner xl^s in money Item I gyve to eche of them that shall carye me to Church xii^d Item I gyve to John Howghe my seconde sonne xx^{li} Item I gyve to Danyell Houghe my third sonne xx^{li} I gyve to Gracian Houghe my fourthe sonne xx^{li} Item I gyve to Thomas Houghe my vth sonne xx^{li} Item I gyve to Underhyll Houghe my syxt sonne xx^{li} All the residewe of all my goodes and chattelles as well reall as personall moveable and unmoveable dettes duties and demaundes whatsoever I gyve and bequeath to Joane my wyfe whom I make my sole executrix of this my last will and testament provided allwayes the legacyes given to my syxe sonnes shall not be payed them untill

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they do accomlishe the full age of xxii yeares unlesse there mother shall thinke it good And yf it shall happen any of my said sixe children to dye before they shall accomlishe the full age of xxii yeares or before they shall be payd theyr portions then his or their partes so dyinge to be equally devided amongst the rest then lyvinge. Item I will there shall be gyven to the poore at my buriall xl^s in bredde and I make my overseers of this my last will and testament my brother in law Pearce Underhill my brother James Howghe my sonne in lawe William Wattson and my friende Gregorye Alworthye In witness to this my will I have set to my hande and seale these being witnesses

WILLIAM WATSON

JAMES HOWGHE

JOHN KECHIN

W. H.

3. WILL OF WILLIAM HOUGH, JUNIOR

July 1595. Probated 1606

IN the name of God Amen. I William Houghe of the parish of St Martins within the Citie of Oxon being sicke in bodie but of sounde minde and memorie (thanks be to God) do make this my last will and testament concerning such things and goodes as God has given me in manner and forme following. First I give and bequeath my soul to Almighty God my only Maker Redeemer and Saviour and my body I commit to Christian buriall within the parish of St Martins aforesaide as near to my father late deceased as conveniently may be Item I give and bequeath unto my brother Daniell Houghe five poundes of good and lawfull money of England and to my brother Thomas Hough I give and bequeath five pounds of like English money Item I give and bequeath unto my uncle Robert Houghe forty shillings and to my sister Grace Watson forty shillings Item I give and bequeath to my Aunt Ursula Young twenty shillings Item I give and bequeath

unto my brother John Houghe to make him a ring fortie shillings and I likewise give and bequeath unto my brother Underhill Houghe twenty shillings I give unto William Poe all my apparrell linen and woollen Item all the remainder of my goods and chattells moveable and immoveable whatsoever my debts being paid and my funerall expenses discharged I give and bequeath unto my four brothers Daniell Thomas Underhill and John equally to be devided amongst them and I do nominate constitute and appoint executors of this my last will and testament my uncle Robert Houghe and my brother Daniel unto whom I give for their paines my eight silver spoons and my minde is that all their expense about this my last will and testament that the same shall be repaid them and allowed out of my goods etc.

The fifth day of July 1595.

4. WILL OF PEARSE UNDERHILL, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF WILLIAM HOUGH, SENIOR, OF OXFORD

Probated 1603-4

To all Christian people to whom the present writing shall come I Pearse Underhill of the City of Oxon Innholder send greeting in our lord God Everlasting. Knowing that I the said Pearse Underhill of the City of Oxon Innholder do by these writings revoke and recall all former acts and deeds the which I have hitherto made, etc. And also the said Pearse Underhill do by this indenture for diverse good reasons and reasonable considerations give grant assign and set over unto my well beloved friend Master Richard Broughton Master of Divinity and fellow of Magdalen College in the University of Oxon all the state right title interest demand and term of years the which I have may might or ought to have by any manner or means whatsoever in and to what messuage or tenement with the appurtenances commonly known and called by the name

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of the Crosse Inn now in my possession and occupation situate lying and being in the parish of St Martins within the said City of Oxon and of in and to the indentures of lease thereof that was made over and conveyed to me by John Staunton who came by the said lease by the marriage of Joan Hough widow And also I the said Pearse do by these presents for diverse good reasons and considerations now likewise hereunto moving give and grant unto my said well beloved friend Master Richard Broughton all my goods chattels household stuff plate whatsoever now remaining and being in the said messuage or tenement called the Crosse Inn or anywhere to have and to hold all my said right title interest demand and term of years in the said indenture of lease and all my said goods chattels household stuff and plate to the said Master Richard Broughton his executors and assigns forever to the uses and intentions hereafter expressed in these writings that is to say that the said Richard his executors and assigns after my decease shall permit and suffer Anne now my wife her executors and assigns to have receive and take all the issue profits and commodities of the said messuage and tenement and the appurtenances and of all my said goods chattels household stuff and plate to her and their use she and they paying out of the same such sums of money to such persons as are hereafter in their order named in manner and form following, that is to say to my son Edmund Underhill twenty pounds lawful English money and to discharge a debt of twenty marks which I stand bound for the same Edmund to Master Anthony Hartley late of Lincoln College in Oxon and shall permit and suffer my said son Edmund to have and take all my apparel the which I shall have at the time of my decease and after paying my son William twenty pounds lawful English money and to my son Thomas twenty pounds lawful English money And also paying to my son John twenty pounds lawful English money and to my daughter Brise fourty pounds lawful English money the

which I gave her husband by my hand and to my daughter Elizabeth twenty pounds of lawful English money and to my daughter Anne James twenty pounds lawful English money and paying my debts as order may be taken for the same And the said sums of money to be paid to my children within one year of my decease And I do by the delivery of half a dozen silver spoons gilt to said Master Richard Broughton at the sealing hereof give him the full possession of all and singular the premises before by these presents mentioned to be given granted and assigned or set over to have and to hold the same according to the true intention and meaning hereof. In witness whereof I the said Pearse Underhill have hereunto put my hand and seal the eight and twentieth day of January in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James. 1604-5.

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¹ Bird, Birde or Byrde, these spellings are all used by this family.

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